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ABSTRACT

The second part of the proceedings of this conference of journalism historians contains the following 21 papers: "The First Information Revolution" (Irving Fang); "The 'Andromeda Strain' Phenomenon: Mutating Systems and International Communication Policy" (Eliza Tanner); "Guns or Butter?: Black Press Editorial Policy toward the Vietnam War" (William J. Leonhirth); "Print Journalism in Mexico: From Printing Press to Revolutionary Press, 1536-1821" (Victoria Goff); "Combatting Economics and the Print Advertising Trend during World War II: IRS Tax Rulings and the War Bond Drives" (Edward E. Adams and Rajiv Sekhri); "Justice, Progress, and a Preserved Republic: Benjamin Orange Flower and the Arena" (Mary M. Cronin); "Mark Fowler and the Fairness Doctrine: An Analysis of Speeches and Articles 1981-1987" (Jan H. Samoriski); "American Film Propaganda in Revolutionary Russia" (James D. Startt); "Milton Caniff: A Summing Up" (Lucy Shelton Caswell); "Campbell's 'Boston News-Letter': Some Not-So-Boring Sheets of News" (Alan Neckowitz); "Defining the American Heroine Women of Godey's 'Lady's Book'" (Janice Hume); "Cultural Politics and the Press in the Third Republic" (Andre Spies); "The General Circulation Press as a Tool for Propaganda: The Wisconsin Suffrage Movement, 1910-1919" (Elizabeth V. Burt); "Women in the News: A Look at the Presentation of American Women in News Magazines from 1945 to 1963" (Karla K. Gower); "Negotiating Class and Ethnicity: The Polish- and Yiddish-Language Press in Chicago" (Jon Bekken); "The Role of Government in Global Media Flows: The Commerce Department and Hollywood Exports, 1921-33" (Ulf Jonas Bjork); "Uncovering a Mid-Nineteenth Century Press Association Code of Ethics" (Stephen A. Banning); "Women's Pages or People's Pages: The Production of News for Women in the 'Washington Post' in the 1950s" (Mei-ling Yang); "A Revolutionist Must Have His Say in Court Even If It Kills Him: Benjamin Gitlow, His Conviction for Criminal Anarchy, and What It Meant for Freedom of Speech" (TJ Hemlinger); "The Misconduct of the 'New England Courant'" (David Phillip Moore); and "'The Suffragist': The National Woman's Party Wields the Power of the Press" (Linda Lumsden). (RS)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1994 CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

The First Information Revolution

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Abstract (The First Information Revolution)

The first information revolution may be characterized as the Writing Revolution. Written symbols to objectify speech and codify information aided peoples to govern themselves, to trade, and to express a religious faith. By making the spoken word permanent, it changed the human condition.

The Greek historian Herodotus tells us that the Phœnicians introduced writing into the Hellenic world. The Greeks improved this gift by adding vowel sounds and both expanding and contracting it to create the uniquely Greek alphabet.

The Writing Revolution proceeded slowly, unfolding over five centuries from the Greek emergence out of their Dark Ages to the death of Alexander the Great. For the knowledge that it carried on papyrus and in the heads of travelers, the Mediterranean deserves to be recognized as the world's first information superhighway. During this period, approximately the 8th through the 4th centuries B.C., the world's first democracies formed in the Greek city-states. It had taken about five hundred years for literacy to suffuse the predominantly oral Greek society, roughly the length of time between the day that Moses brought the Laws from the hand of God and a time of widespread literacy among the Children of Israel.

It is reasonable to assume that writing sped through society because it was a sensible way to communicate and archive information. Commerce beyond the village would come to rely heavily on its diffusion. And government officials surely learned early to love written documents, a love that has withstood the erosion of the centuries.

Like our current 20th century information revolution, that earlier historical watershed in human affairs came about with a convergence of communication technologies in a location receptive to change. The technologies were the phonetic alphabet and papyrus, a suitable writing surface brought north from Egypt. They fell on fertile soil, for the Greeks, enmeshed in political and economic turmoil, were intelligent, curious, and relatively free. Above all, their focus was humanistic. Located beyond the peripheries of the vast Assyrian and Egyptian empires, yet trading with them, the Greeks created their own culture, borrowing from their neighbors to formulate what became uniquely their own.

With the alphabet and papyrus the Greeks started an information revolution that embraced philosophy and metaphysics, science, mathematics, medicine, politics, and the arts. The Greek genius for abstract thinking, for logic, for analysis, for rationality, and for plain common sense would light up Western civilization.

The First Information Revolution

The wish to remember something by writing it down led over the course of millennia to the start of the first information revolution. It and the revolutions that followed would shape humankind more than any wars or any kings ever did or could. With a few scratches our inventive ancestors set in motion the never ending story of information, the communication and storage of knowledge outside the brain. Here broke history's long dawn.

Thousands of years would pass after those first scratches before a remarkable people living in communities scattered around the Mediterranean Sea would use two tools of communication — a kind of hardware imported from the south and a software brought from the east and modified — to produce such content as the world had never known. In the hands of the Greeks the combining of papyrus and the phonetic alphabet to produce simple, transportable writing formed the basis for an information revolution as powerful as anything likely to appear in today's headlines. With a written culture, information would be shared without the constraints of time and distance. Knowledge would become limitless. Yet lost along the way would be the old oral culture with its own benefits.

Defining an Information Revolution

What would constitute an information revolution? The word "revolution" implies a sudden and often violent change, but revolutions can be more subtle, evolving over decades, even centuries.[1] In the general parlance, "revolution" is an overwrought description of any societal developments. The word long ago became a cliché. Consider it in the sense of profound changes, traceable to identifiable origins, which permanently affect entire societies, changes that have shaken political structures and influenced economic development, communal activity, and personal behavior. Unlike so many of our wars and switching of rulers, information revolutions create changes that stick. The new media of information become part of the changing society.

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It appears evident that for an information revolution to succeed, media which will provide new means for communication must spread through societies already undergoing change. Communication technologies by themselves are not enough. In a symbiotic exchange, the dissemination of the media both aids and is aided by whatever has shaken the existing order, for those who seek change will grasp whatever means will help them to achieve their goal: to get their message across, to get power, or to get rich.

Effective political and social revolutions — those which permanently influence the lives of most inhabitants — do not emanate from royal edicts. They grow from disturbed soil, an openness to change, at least at some societal levels. Media join the turbulence, fastening means to purpose. The tools of communication become weapons in some hands, while in other hands they serve to extend mankind's knowledge and the richness of intelligent life. Turmoil leads to independence of thought and the capacity for growth. In sum, one or more new communication technologies arriving in the midst of social change can lead to an information revolution which adds to the turmoil, is augmented by it, and, more importantly, leaves permanent marks on the society.

Indeed, the world is in the midst of an information revolution now, a period identified with capital letters as the Information Age, a product of the Information Revolution of the second half of the 20th century, both agent and beneficiary of our political and cultural upheavals. Yet the second half of the 15th century, following Gutenberg's invention of a printing system, deserves to be called the Information Age as much as our own half century. A strong claim as the Information Age could also be made for the second half of the 19th century, following the inventions of photography and the telegraph, a half century which gave birth to the phonograph, telephone, typewriter, motion pictures, and radio, plus significant changes in printing and early experiments in television and in wire recording technology. Each of these communication technologies had their greatest impact in the midst of the industrial revolution, a time of change across all layers of society.

Preceding all these was the transition from an oral to a written culture. It may be identified as the writing revolution. It was the first information revolution of which mankind has record. Made possible by the introductions of the phonetic alphabet and papyrus, the first information revolution occurred over half a millenium in the ancient Greek world — a time of political and social alterations. Although the precise dates of the arrivals of the phonetic alphabet and papyrus have been a matter of some dispute and are not likely to be resolved, they probably did not reach the Greek city-states simultaneously. But when they were joined — a simple vehicle to express thought joined to a convenient medium for holding thought — the transformation of knowledge began.

Of course, improvements in communication occurred during quieter periods as well, but those identified here took a role in creating a qualitative difference in society. The changes in communication tools have always led toward an equalizing of the status of members of society, the road toward democracy. That there has never in human history been true equality should not detract from an appreciation of genuine strides toward democracy.

For much of this century we have lived in the midst of an information revolution which has made our home the central location for receiving information and entertainment, thanks to the telephone broadcasting, recording, improvements in print technologies, and cheap, universal mail services. The century has, of course, been a period of unrelieved political, cultural, and psychological turmoil and shifting. That the media of communication have been a part of these changes is a matter has been written about in countless articles, books, and research papers.

An extension of this information revolution, the Information Superhighway, is now being constructed out of the convergence of computer, broadcasting, and visual technologies.

Shared Characteristics

Information revolutions seem to share certain characteristics:

Each is based upon the invention of more than one tool of communication. Their convergence had powerful effects.

Each took place where change of a different sort was roiling the society.

The tools of communication gave these changes added dynamism and were themselves given a forward thrust by those other changes.

These tools have dispersed across that portion of the society which gave — or gives — direction to the whole of that society; in short, the tools of communication have been in the hands of the society's movers and shakers.

The changes wrought by these dispersions have led toward a greater sharing of knowledge than previously existed. In that sense they have been egalitarian. Where the use of the tools has been limited, both in ancient times and now, human beings have been less free.

As each information revolution has run its course, content broadened. More producers have sent a greater amount of information on a greater variety of subjects to more and more receivers.

Each new communication technology has displaced some other means of communication or behavior that had been satisfactory until the new technology became available. When something was gained, something of value may have been lost.

New literacies have arisen to accommodate the new communication technologies, from the phonetic alphabet of the first information revolution to the computer codes of the latest.

All tools of communication then and now have one or more hardware components and at least one software component; that is, physical tools and methods or systems.

The need for physical transportation to send information was reduced then and now. Communication replaced transportation.

Beginnings of Writing

With the cultivation of grains and the domestication of animals, tribes of hunters, fishers, and gatherers could plan to feed themselves from year to year. In alluvial valleys and deltas the nomads settled down to the more certain life of farmers. So it was in the Nile delta of Egypt, along the banks of the Indus in northwest India, the Yellow in China, and the Tigris and Euphrates in the part of Mesopotamia that is now Iraq, where the Sumerians dwelled. Communities grew, conquests united them, governments followed, and commerce spread. Priests required tribute to the gods and tax collectors came calling for much of what was left. All of this getting and giving required writing and record keeping.

On what medium were kept all these records, these calendars and contracts, these land deeds and calculations? To be practical the medium had to be transportable, storable, reasonably permanent, readily made, and cheap. The writing had to be fixed, so that a contract, government document, or religious proclamation could not be altered.

The users of documents would get what they needed. Even at this early stage of history, the requirements of the users were driving the technology. We must look to the Fertile Crescent, particularly to Mesopotamia, for the long trek to reproducing and storing spoken language. It began about 8,000 B.C. in Sumer as part of the social structure, with the molding of small clay triangles, spheres, cones, and other tokens that represented sheep, measures of grain, jars of oil, and other goods. The world's first metaphors, these tokens served the Sumerian communities as a means of keeping track of goods for the purpose of pooling and redistributing the community's resources.[2] As status symbols for the elite members of the community, they were sometimes placed in burial sites. The clay tokens also indicated gifts brought to the temple for the gods, or brought to a ruler as tribute, or yielded with the best possible grace to the visiting tax gatherer.

Dozens of different clay tokens aided the accounting over an astonishing period of 5,000 years.[3] Starting about 3,700 B.C., the tokens were placed in hollow clay balls, a kind of envelope, for storage. Unhappily, once the tokens had been sealed inside the ball, there was no way to determine what was inside without cracking the ball open. About 3500 B.C. Sumerian accountants figured out that they could identify the contents of the ball either by fixing an identical token set into the ball's soft clay surface or by pressing each token against the surface before it hardened. The shape of the token carried its meaning. It was the beginning of writing. The next step toward writing was taken by scratching a *representation* of the token in the clay instead of impressing the actual token. In surviving specimens in the world's museums the shapes of the representation do not match the tokens, indicating an important step toward abstract thinking.[4] The ancient accountants must have soon realized that, because the outside markings carried the meaning, there was really no need to stuff the actual tokens inside a hollow ball, nor was there really any need for the ball itself. Without the tokens the ball could be flattened to the shape of a tablet which bore all the information anyone needed.

Sumerians also engraved pieces of stone or metal with distinctive markings to make seals that, pressed on the clay of a wine jar, announced its ownership. The stamped seal gave way to the cylinder seal, which was rolled over the wet clay. As it rolled along it reproduced a pattern, a forerunner of the cylinder press of our own era.

Babylon carried its predecessor Sumerian and Akkadian cultures to new heights. Writing, as the Sumerians and the Akkadians did, on clay tablets with cuneiform script, plus a syllabary which they interspersed with ideographs,[5] the Babylonians recorded abstract religious and philosophical thoughts. They classified plants, animals, metals, and rocks. They advanced knowledge in mathematics, astronomy, and engineering. Unlike the analytical thinking of the Greeks, however, the Babylonian approach was empirical, and they mixed logic with superstition and myth.[6]

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[2] Denise Schmandt-Besserat, *Before Writing.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992) 178+.

[3] Schmandt-Besserat 198

[4] Schmandt-Besserat 128.

[5] Godfrey R. Driver, *Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948) 196.

[6] Robert K. Logan, *The Alphabet Effect: The Impact of the Phonetic Alphabet on the Development of Western Civilization.* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1986) 73.

The most famous of all documents in Mesopotamian history, Hammurabi's legal code, written during the 18th century B.C. in the Semitic Babylonian language, was carved on stelae and placed in temples. Among the nearly 300 laws by this "Mighty King of the Four Quarters of the World" was a reformed, standard writing system for the lands he had conquered from present day Syria to Iran.

Writing began in Sumer and was later adopted by Egypt. How it traveled there is not known, perhaps along the spice route that existed since prehistoric times.[7] Hieroglyphics, serving mostly for sacred writing, were inscribed on Egyptian tomb walls and on pottery. Hieroglyphs were used also for recording each ruler's versions of history, not as a way for ordinary mortals to communicate with each other. Egyptian priests formulated a simpler written language, hieratic, a cursive form for religious and literary writing. From hieratic, a secular version for daily use such as record keeping and correspondence, demotic, was conceived. It was a combination of picture and phonetic writing, yet still not an alphabet. With demotic writing the Egyptians had developed a writing system that brought written communication to a slightly wider segment of society, but it was still complicated and difficult to master, and it was by no means mass communication.

The Coming of the Alphabet

The Sumerians used reeds to scratch marks on tablets of clay. To solve the sticky problem that a reed scratching into wet clay will pull the clay up as it is withdrawn, they designed a writing tool with a wedge tip, resulting in the writing we know as *cuneiform*. Hardened in fire or the sun's heat, thousands of these clay tablets have survived to this day, more durable than paper.

About 3100 B.C., they invented numerals, separating the symbol for sheep from the number of sheep. So, it is believed, began both writing and mathematics. Writing emerged from a means for abstract counting. The earliest Sumerian writings were pictographs, a simple drawing of an object. Archaeological diggings at Uruk showed that the Sumerians advanced to ideographic writing, in which an image or symbol might stand for one or more objects; a symbol could also represent a concept. Numerals allowed pictography to expand beyond accounting. Writing could develop into a tool that was able to communicate ideas. About the time that the Sumerians invented numerals, they advanced an additional step with *phonetic* writing, where the symbol meant a sound, thus combining the written and spoken language. The Sumerians had invented syllabic writing, like the modern Japanese *kana*, not yet an alphabet.

The next step up the evolutionary ladder of writing beyond the symbolic ideographs would be an integrated system of symbols for both written and spoken language. In a word, an alphabet. Neither the Sumerians nor the Chinese nor the Egyptians, for all their innovations in the uses of writing, had produced the simple, practical system in which one written symbol stands for one spoken sound, so that a combination of visible symbols represents what is spoken aloud.

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[7] Leonard Cottrell, *The Quest for Sumer.* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965) 86.

The invention of the alphabet, about 1700 B.C., fell to an uneducated Semitic people in the Sinai and Canaan, perhaps the Midianites or Kenites of the Bible. A simplified rendering of the difficult Egyptian writing, it transcribed spoken language so efficiently that it was adopted by one tribe after another, each modifying what they received to suit the sounds of their own language[8]

The alphabet was invented in what is now Israel and improved in or near what is now the coast of Lebanon, "one, and only one, of the gifts of the Semites to mankind."[9] A version of the Canaanite alphabet was adopted by the Phœnicians, living along what are now the coastal strips of Syria, Lebanon and Israel.[10] Famous as traders, their ships plied the Mediterranean, establishing colonies in Greece and at Carthage on the North African coast. It should not seem at all odd that such a wide-ranging and commercially active people would be the first to formulate a unified language system, for the alphabet met the needs of trade. Nor is it surprising that such an advance came from this relatively free society on the Mediterranean coast instead of the controlled and centralized empire of Persia, or that other equally controlled and centralized empire spreading from the banks of the Nile.

With the alphabet speech itself could be stored. Its simplicity permitted a broader proportion of the populace to figure out how to use it.[11] Human communication was now no longer restricted to the temporary sound of a voice.

As the use of the alphabet widened, it was copied and inevitably changed. Derived from the Phœnician alphabet were the Hebrew alphabet, beginning *aleph, bet*, and the Greek alphabet, beginning *alpha, beta*. The change from symbols to sounds emerged gradually. To a Phœnician, *aleph* and *bet* meant, respectively, *ox* and *house*. Invert a capital A and you may ascertain a representational face of an ox. The original *bet* was in the shape of a square, a typical house.

Robert Logan has hypothesized that "the phonetic alphabet, monotheism, and codified law were introduced for the first time to the Israelites by Moses at Mount Sinai in the form of the Ten Commandments."[12] This hypothesis, startling in its breadth, falls in line with the hypothesis of this paper, that for an information revolution to succeed, there must be new communication technology reaching people who are in the midst of profound change. For the illiterate slaves who followed Moses out of Egypt, these conditions were certainly met by laws written "with the finger of God."[13] And that their history, their myths, and their monotheistic beliefs would be documented in book after book of what would become the Bible, certainly meets any test of an information revolution which succeeded.

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[8] Logan 33-36.

[9] Driver 197.

[10] W.M. Flinders Petrie, *The Formation of the Alphabet.* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1912) 5.

[11] Jack Goody, *Literacy in Traditional Societies.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) 3.

[12] Logan 82.

The Phœnicians seem to have confined their writing to business use. Their neighbors, the Hebrews, also employed it for commerce as well for a record of their history and a guide to their religion. These two small Semitic tribal nations, originally emigrated from lower Mesopotamia, had close racial affinity. Politically they were insignificant peoples situated at the distant edges of empires, but the Phœnicians and the Hebrews were to influence western civilization far more than all the empires whose armies crossed and recrossed their small territories.[14]

Bearing Gifts to the Greeks

The Greek historian Herodotus tells us that the Phœnicians introduced writing into Greece.[15] The date was somewhere between 1100 and 800 B.C. The Greeks improved this gift by adding vowel sounds and both expanding and contracting it to create the uniquely Greek alphabet. But copied inexactly and altered locally, the alphabet took unique forms where it settled. Until the end of the 5th century B.C. almost every Hellenic state had its own alphabet.[16] Chester Starr wrote:

> The inventors of the Greek alphabet remodeled drastically the symbols which they borrowed in order to create a supple tool for human expression. Though the alphabet was probably not created primarily to set down literature in permanent form, its wide use depended on its general utility, intellectual as well as economic, and on the rise of a relatively large aristocratic class. The very appearance of the Greek alphabet may be taken as a token of the increasing consciousness of Greek civilization in the eighth century; the rapid spread of writing is another testimonial to the quickening life of the era.[17]

Jack Goody has noted:

> Since the first methods of writing employed were difficult to master, their effects were relatively limited, and it was only when the simplicity and flexibility of later alphabetic writing made widespread literacy possible that for the first time there began to take concrete shape in the Greek world of the 6th century B.C. a society that was essentially literate and

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[13] Exodus 31:18.

[14] William A. Mason, *A History of the Art of Writing.* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1920) 288.

[15] Herodotus, *The History* 5:58.

[16] Mason 343.

[17] Chester G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization: 1100 - 650 B.C.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961) 170.

> that soon established many of the institutions that became characteristic of all later literate societies.[18]

At first the Greeks shaped their letters like the Phœnician letters. King Cadmus, the legendary inventor of the alphabet may have actually been a Phœnician immigrant.[19]

With the alphabet the Greeks started an information revolution that expanded the use of writing well beyond the commerce of the Phœnicians to embrace philosophy and metaphysics, science, mathematics, medicine, politics, and the arts, using it even for comedy and tragedy. The Greek genius for abstract thinking, for logic, for analysis, for rationality, and for plain common sense would light up Western civilization. The Greeks would seek the abstract visions of pure truth and pure beauty. Logan wrote that their vocabulary of abstract thought included "notions such as body, matter, essence, space, translation, time, motion, permanence, change, flux, quality, quantity, combination and ratio. These terms and concepts became the language of philosophy."[20]

In the 6th century B.C. Pythagoras created a conception of the universe far beyond anything known before. He journeyed across the Greek world to exchange ideas with other scientists.[21] Arthur Koestler compares him to an orchestra leader who brings harmony where there had been only separate, discordant sounds:

> The maestro is Pythagoras of Samos, whose influence on the ideas, and thereby on the destiny, of the human race was probably greater than that of any single man before or after him.[22]

Another Greek polymath, Democritus, traveled not only around the Mediterranean but reputedly as far as Persia to learn and teach in mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and the physical sciences. He also wrote on subjects as wide ranging as poetry, agriculture, and military tactics. In Athens during the first half of the 5th century B.C., style was introduced to written and spoken communication.

"With the alphabet the Greeks began to see things differently, in a more fragmented manner."[23] By separating mankind and his works from the world around them, the Greeks conceived of nature as something separate, an entity worthy of study, and that increasingly meant committing to papyrus as well as communicating orally. The Writing Revolution unfolded over five centuries from the Greek emergence out of the Dark Ages to the death of Alexander the Great. Aristotle classified as much of the world's knowledge as he could acquire. Others made great strides in mathematics, medicine, astronomy, geography, and biology. Women physicians were common, and from them came written treatises on the care of skin and hair.[24] After Aristotle, the Hellenic world had a new reality, a written culture functioning alongside its oral culture.[25] Life would no longer be the same. In a sense the first information revolution had ended, and had been a success, although virtually by definition a successful revolution never ends.

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[18] Goody 67.
[19] Herodotus 5:57+.
[20] Logan 105.
[21] Jacob Burckhardt, *History of Greek Culture.* Trans. Palmer Hilty. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963) 321.
[22] Arthur Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe.* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1976) 25.
[23] Logan 122.

Not everything the Greeks did was perfect by any means. The Greeks learned from the practical, empirically derived conclusions of the Egyptians and Babylonians, but filtered the information through the mesh of analytical thought.[26] The principal weakness in Greek thought was a reliance on deductively derived logical conclusions in preference to observation, experimentation, and inductive reasoning. It left them trying to explain a static world existing under an unchanging heaven. Pure deduction based upon incorrect premises would hamper Western science past the Middle Ages.

Yet written symbols to objectify speech and codify information aided peoples to govern themselves, to trade, and to express a religious faith. By making the spoken word permanent, it changed the human condition.[27] Visible and permanent symbols of ephemeral speech responded to a functional requirement, yet writing added to mankind's ability to think abstractly. The invention of written language developed over a period of centuries, advancing sporadically in different locations toward modern alphabetic systems. Creating an additional mode of communication among mankind, writing came out of practical need, probably with little experimentation.

Examination of most communication technologies show a pattern of slow progress which is illuminated occasionally by a sudden sharp advance. Early Greek civilization advanced in a similar manner, a laborious crawl that exploded in revolutionary political, social, and economic changes, interlinked changes in virtually every field of life, of which the information revolution was a small but integral part.

Neither in Egypt nor in the Near East was true artistic vigor, the expression of the human spirit, pulsating when the Greeks came to the shores of the Orient. If this spirit appeared in Greece during the great age of revolution, it was not a foreign gift. The age of revolution was a new step in human history.[28]

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[24] Will Durant, *The Life of Greece* (*The Story of Civilization*, Vol 2). (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939) 346.
[25] Harold Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951) 58.
[26] Logan 108.
[27] Schmandt-Besserat 1.

It is reasonable to assume that the diffusion of writing sped through society because it was a sensible way to communicate and archive information. A slave bore orders from a ruler to a provincial governor, his brother slave carried messages of eternal affection between a general in the field and his mistress, and a third slave ran between two merchants clutching orders to sell at a certain price, with the written instructions remaining as a record of the transaction. Commerce beyond the village would come to rely heavily on the diffusion of writing. And government officials surely learned early to love written documents, a love that has withstood the erosion of the centuries.

The First Information Superhighway

The first known alteration in the acquisition of knowledge that might be characterized as an information revolution had its faint beginnings in the Hellenic world during the 8th century B.C., when the Phœnician alphabet took root in Aegean soil. It was the period after the Dark Ages when, because of an alphabetic script and the availability of papyrus, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the epic poems of Homer, recalled for the previous four centuries by storytellers, were written down. The information revolution gathered strength over the next century as the first reading public came into being.[29] During the following three centuries, there would be an outpouring of intellectual, artistic, and political ideas such as the world had never seen before and has scarcely known since.

The 8th century was also the period of the creation of the Greek *polis*, the community of a city-state that replaced a tribal culture and eliminated its kings. The Greeks took the radical step of placing authority in the community, which made policy in open discussion and voted by counting heads. In short, the Greeks invented politics.[30] The city-state embodied concepts of political justice, granting its free citizens rights and responsibilities.[31] The city-state evolved over several centuries to the limited democracy that was Athens, for only a portion of its residents could become citizens.[32] Albertine Gaur concluded that the spread of democracy relied on the spread of literacy:

> Even to ostracize (banish) an undesirable person from Athens for ten years was only possible if 6,000 men each wrote his name, simultaneously, on individual pieces of *ostraca*

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[28] Starr 203, 220.
[29] Durant 206.
[30] M.I. Finley, ed., *The Legacy of Greece.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 22-23.
[31] Starr 324.
[32] Starr 337.

(potsherd). Writing, far from being a (semi-) secret art practiced by a specially trained elite, was an essential element of Greek democracy.[33]

"We who dwell between the Phasis River and the Pillars of Heracles," wrote Plato quoting Socrates, inhabited a small portion of the earth, "living around the sea like ants or frogs around a marsh."[34] The Greeks dwelt mostly in coastal communities stretching from the eastern edge of the Black Sea to the western edges of the Mediterranean. Athens may have been a leader of culture, but by no means was it the only center. Away from Athens, in the thousand colonies that constituted Hellenic civilization, were born Greek poetry and prose, history, philosophy, mathematics, and oratory.[35]

Importantly, the Greeks shared a language, both spoken and written, which remained stable for a thousand years.[36] To appreciate what this means, consider how much English has changed in the six centuries between us and Chaucer, or even the four centuries since Shakespeare. Although Greece never had an empire like those of Egypt, Persia or Rome, there was a far-flung Hellenic world traversed by ships on the Mediterranean Sea, the highway of a remarkable people. For the knowledge that it carried on papyrus and in the heads of travelers, the Mediterranean deserves to be recognized as the world's first information superhighway.

After schooling, in the academies of Athens and other cities, students returned to the corners of that wider Hellenic world. The amount of communication that continued among them can only be guessed at. Most Greek scientists worked in isolation.[37] That they maintained some written contacts seems obvious, for the alphabet was known to them and papyrus was available. Greek scholars wrote extensively, and their writing was meant to be read by their contemporaries or to be read aloud in public.[38]

A Time of Turmoil

As with all revolutions, the seeds of information revolutions, when they are scattered in disturbed soil, plant roots most deeply to send forth their flowers and weeds. So it was in Athens, the first among the Greek cities. The economy and politics suitably churned the ground of ancient Attica.

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[33] Albertine Gaur, *A History of Writing.* (London: The British Library, 1987) 156.

[34] Plato, *Phaedo*, 109B-C, translated and edited by David Gallop. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 69.

[35] Durant 174.

[36] Finley 3.

[37] G.E.R. Lloyd, "Science and Mathematics," in M.I. Finley, ed., *The Legacy of Greece.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 262.

[38] For example: "Herodotus' Histories were composed in writing to be read in public." Kathryn Payne, "Information Collection and Transmission in Classical Greece," *Libri* 1993, vol. 43 no. 4: 278.

The landowners, the aristocratic Eupatrids, were citizens who took power into their own hands and reduced the king to a figurehead. These oligarchs, living in luxury in town, sent hired men and slaves to till their fields. Next in wealth, a middle class of professionals, craftsmen, traders, and other free men were pushed down by the aristocrats and, in turn, pushed down the poorest free laborers. At bottom were the slaves.

Add to this feudal mix the hard scrabble harvests of the stony Greek soil. Coinage was introduced to replace barter, which proved a great calamity for many and precipitated an economic revolution.[39] Money shook up the Aegean world, for commerce was an effective means to disturb the feudal society, much as it would prove to be nearly two millennia later in feudal Europe. The chance to earn one's bread by trade has always seemed sweeter than the need to earn it by sweat. Commerce freed men from dependence on the land of the nobility, on herding and farming. Across cultures and centuries, men have ventured into unknown lands to better their lives. No matter what their luck, those who survived returned home more worldly. If they had not actually moved toward democracy, they had at least taken steps toward levelling the aristocrat's advantage.

Sending men off to fight added to the economic dislocations. Sporadic wars erupted among the city-states and with the powerful empire of Persia to the east. From the late 7th century to the late 6th century, five great empires collapsed, those of Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Lydia, and Egypt, plus several Greek tyrannies. At home there was the cruelty of Draco's code, which brought "draconian" into the language. In some degree of redress, the reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes pointed the way toward the democracy which was established in Athens in 507 B.C., and in other cities as well.[40] A clue that literacy entered into the managing of affairs was the Athenian requirement a century later that magistrates could not apply "an unwritten law."[41]

From the East came the orphic religious revival, concerned with salvation of the soul by rites of purification.[42] [43] Orphism later formed the basis of humanism and individualism expounded by Socrates and Plato.[44] All this added to the instability of the Mediterranean world.[45]

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[39] Wendell T. Bush, "An Impression of Greek Political Philosophy," *Studies in the History of Ideas*, vol. 1. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918) 52-53.

[40] Durant 109-24.

[41] Marti Lu Allen, *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World.* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1991) 4.

[42] M.T. McClure, "Appearance and Reality in Greek Philosophy," *Studies in the History of Ideas*, vol. 1. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918) 7.

[43] See also Innis 72.

[44] Logan 125.

[45] Bush 50.

Sparta refused to embrace written communication with the enthusiasm that Athens showed, contending that literacy by itself guarantees no cultural superiority. Lycurgus, reputed founder of the Spartan constitution, among his reforms actually forbade writing. Of the Spartan attitude toward writing, Robert Pattison commented:

> The long history of its praise in the Western tradition is the self-interested product of those who write, but there has always been a party, less audible by the nature of its doctrine, opposed to writing. The Spartan believed that the unrecorded good behavior of citizens, though lost to history, was worth a book full of unrealized ideals.[46]

Where trade enriched a city, such as Miletus, there flowered art and literature. Philosophy was born in Miletus with Thales in the 7th century. Will Durant noted:

> Here in Miletus, as later in Athens, were men from a hundred scattered states; mentally active through competitive commerce, and freed from the bondage of tradition by long absences from their native altars and homes. Milesians themselves traveled to distant cities, and had their eyes opened by the civilizations of Lydia, Babylonia, Phœnicia, and Egypt; in this way, among others, Egyptian geometry and Babylonian astronomy entered the Greek mind. Trade and mathematics, foreign commerce and geography, navigation and astronomy, developed hand in hand.[47]

Supplementing an Oral Culture

Pre-literate societies preserved their histories in what Eric Havelock called "the living memories of successive living people who are young and then old and then die."[48] They did so through their oral culture, enriching their lives and enhancing memory with the verbal and metrical patterns of epic poetry, of story and song. The early writing in the new Greek alphabet was meant not to be read but to be heard, either sung or spoken to the accompaniment of the lyre and other musical instruments.[49]

Because they did not require such a technology as writing, many oral cultures did not adopt it, as Durant pointed out:

> Simple tribes living for the most part in comparative isolation, and knowing the happiness of having no history, felt little need for writing. Their memories were all the stronger from having no written aids; they learned and retained, and passed on to their children by

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[46] Robert Pattison, *On Literacy.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 57.
[47] Durant 135.
[48] Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1963) 42.
[49] Starr 263.

> recitation, whatever seemed necessary in the way of historical record and cultural transmission.[50]

Writing supplemented but by no means supplanted the predominantly oral Greek culture. Rhetoric, so important to political affairs, was taught as a spoken art.· Reciting on public occasions was commonplace. It is true that Plato wrote his *Dialogues*, but they were, after all, written as conversations. How much the Greeks learned orally and how much from written sources is not clear. We are certain only that much knowledge was, for the first time, written, and therefore it was meant to be read by contemporaries. Writing encouraged reflection and critical thinking, unlike memorization, which the rhythms of poetry served well.[51] Recitation was suited to poetry, writing to prose.

We see in the Greek historians the shifting from oral to written communication, but the historians preferred spoken eyewitness accounts to documents as their own resources. Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon used few written sources, but they themselves wrote their accounts. Thucydides was able to transcribe some letters, inscriptions and treaties, but, like Herodotus, preferred oral to written evidence.[52]

Spoken thoughts hover about the speaker. The words never quite leave their source. Writing, on the other hand, stand apart from the writer. Through writing the Greeks fashioned the idea of objectivity, the separation of the knower from what is known. It was the beginning of objective thinking, of the scientific method.[53]

Change is usually accompanied by conservative efforts to cling to the old ways.[54] With the spread of writing, there eventually grew an argument over oral versus written communication, which has in a different version surfaced again in our own generation with the popularity of television, a medium which appears to have aspects of a new oral culture. The analogy should not be taken too far because significant differences exist as well, for television is the oral and visual expression of a written culture, which can call upon a limitless memory. Considering modern communication technology, the French classicist, H.I. Marrou has written:

> As audio-visual techniques (sound broadcasting, television, tape recording) are gradually breaking us away from the "Gutenberg Galaxy," from the primacy of the printed text, which stamped modern culture so deeply since the Renaissance, the living, winged word is slowly regaining the pre-eminence it enjoyed in antiquity. Has this not already happened in

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[50] Will Durant, *Our Oriental Heritage* (*The Story of Civilization*, Vol. 1). (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935) 76.

[51] Gaur 14.

[52] Arnaldo Momigliano, "History and Biography," in M.I. Finley, ed., *The Legacy of Greece*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 160.

[53] Logan 107.

[54] Starr 189-90, 224.

> politics? A televised speech by a political leader now plays the part of a pamphlet or a newspaper article a century or two ago.[55]

The human race has always had an oral culture although oral communication has obvious limitations. Tales of every sort among every people passed down from mouth to ear through the generations before anyone wrote them down, before anyone even conceived of such a thing as conserving the words of one's language by scratching marks on a surface.

Organized religion that was founded upon written scriptures set, for the societies that accepted them, enduring values, but underlying many of the religions, an oral culture breathes. The stories of the Old and New Testaments were told and retold for centuries before someone committed them to writing. So were the god-drenched stories of the Trojan War, which was fought 500 years before someone set down on papyrus the Homeric version of the events.

Legend has it that when the ibis-headed god Thoth told the Egyptian pharaoh Thamos of Thoth's invention of writing, Thamos denounced it because students, "now that they possessed a means of storing up knowledge without trouble, would cease to apply themselves, and would neglect to exercise their memories."[56] Recalling this venerable tale, Socrates, the old conservative, used it to bemoan writing:

> For your invention will produce forgetfulness in the souls of those who have learned it, through lack of practice at using their memory, as through reliance on writing they are reminded from outside by alien marks, not from inside, themselves by themselves: you have discovered an elixir not of memory but of reminding. To your students you give an appearance of wisdom, not the reality of it; having heard much, in the absence of teaching, they will appear to know much when for the most part they know nothing, and they will be difficult to get along with, because they have acquired the appearance of wisdom instead of wisdom itself.[57]

The exemplar of the oral tradition, Socrates walked the Athenian streets many centuries, perhaps more than a thousand years,[58] after the Phœnician invention of the alphabet and some three hundred years after it had washed upon the Greek shores, yet he wrote nothing of which we know, and he lives today principally through the pages of Plato, who committed his teacher's words to writing. Aristotle observed that writing was useful for making money, managing households, teaching, and civic activities.[59]

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[55] H.I. Marrou, "Education and Rhetoric," in M.I. Finley, ed., *The Legacy of Greece.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 196.

[56] Gaston Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldæa,* trans. M.L. McClure. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1922) 220.

[57] Plato, *Phaedrus* 275, trans. C.J. Rowe, 2nd (corrected) ed. (Warminster, England: Aris & Rowe, 1988) 123.

[58] The date is in dispute.

Many oral-aural societies, past and present, nourish memory skills which are beyond our technological cultures.[60] Disseminated across the educated populace of the Hellenic world, writing gradually sent the oral tradition into a decline that affected everything. even the tellers of tales and the schools of rhetoric. Nevertheless, although the Greeks are credited with inventing literacy and the literate basis of modern thinking, their tradition remained predominantly oral.

The Greek language would be the language of education, diplomacy, literature, and science in the eastern Mediterranean for another thousand years. Romans conquered the Greek city-states but adopted their culture. Rome replaced the Greeks in power and eminence, building a large standing army and a large bureaucracy. They ruled a dominion beyond the dreams of any Greek city-state tyrant. Caesar's conquest of Egypt assured a steady supply of papyrus for the administration needed to run their empire.[61] Romans wrote things down and kept records. McLuhan emphasized the point:

> ..And what was that mechanism of (Roman) law and administration based upon? Paper, or more exactly, papyrus... Engraving in stone is for the priests; they have an affinity for spanning eras. But soldiers are no-nonsense managers. They need to deal with the here and now. The alphabet and paper create armies, or rather the bureaucracies which run armies. Paper creates self-contained kingdoms at a distance.[62]

The oral tradition cannot be easily dismissed. It is not so much inferior to the literate tradition as it is different. With the adoption of writing, a displacement has taken effect; something has been gained, but something has been lost. In his poem, "The Rock," T.S. Eliot asks:

> Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
> Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?

Those who transmitted knowledge orally had to adapt and edit. Having to keep communication manageable, knowledge retained a human dimension, fenced in by the limitations of an oral culture.

How many of us could even know the meaning of all the words in a dictionary? The authors of an infuriating little book, *Damn Reading!: A Case Against Literacy*, argue, "...the written word, the printed book, even its flowery language and its Shakespeares, are a static, rather innocuous kind of activity, compared to the infinite flexibility of the human mind."[63]

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[59] Aristotle, *Politics* viii.3.1338a 15-17.
[60] Walter S. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967) 23.
[61] Innis 7.
[62] Marshall McLuhan and Bruce Powers, *The Global Village.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 137.

The totality of writing, on the other hand, is endless. Who could possibly comprehend all that has been written, let alone absorb it? Consider this additional comment from *Damn Reading!*:

> One of the phenomena that has occurred in America is that through television... people who never before were cognizant of what's going on in America are much more knowledgeable and much more involved in their country emotionally, intellectually, spiritually and psychologically. They react, discuss and get angry, while, say, watching the riots, the civil rights movement, and other current events... Can you imagine what would have happened to the reaction in America if the experience of the space program was limited to just reading about it?[64]

As printing spread at the close of the Middle Ages (perhaps, more accurately, the spread of printing *closed* the Middle Ages) so did written communication, but oral communication obviously did not disappear as a resonating source of information. Preaching continued. So did traveling plays and the news-peppered ballads of itinerant minstrels. Oral and written cultures have, in one expression or another, existed side by side up to the present moment.

For all its boons, a written culture, lacking the human scale of an oral culture, because it can never be absorbed in its entirety by anyone, denies its members the full range of awareness available to members of an oral culture. The term "Renaissance man" was coined in a literate age to describe someone with a breadth of accomplishments; the term may not have been needed by an oral society, where many of its members might be broadly accomplished. In addition, written knowledge, for all its efficiency and productivity, requires more effort to acquire than oral knowledge. For much of the world's population writing is, therefore, a less desirable medium, and one that may be more easy to ignore. Witness the popularity of motion pictures, radio, and television. They are easier to understand and their emotional impact is more immediate and pronounced. Although they are oralized versions of written culture, they are received as oral, not written, communication.

With writing, as with so much else in communication, unexpected consequences accompany the adoption of new tools. McLuhan argued that Western culture has now returned to the world of "acoustic space" three thousand years after the phonetic alphabet detoured it into a long spell of literacy and the world of "visual space."[65] The tribal state, he insisted, was the normal condition of humanity, disrupted by the radical technology of the phonetic alphabet.

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[63] James M. Gibson and James C. Hall, Jr., *Damn Reading!: A Case Against Literacy.* (Vantage Press, 1969) 48.
[64] Gibson and Hall 57-58.

Of Skin and Bones and Papyrus

The medium used to hold early writing may have evoked a stir of interest the first time it was delivered into waiting hands, but certainly as this message-carrying instrument became familiar to its users, it would be taken for granted. Only the messages would matter. The ignored medium would quickly have reached the stage of transparency. Like paper today, we use it without giving it a moment's thought.

Animal skins and bones, palm leaves and oak tree bark, wood and wax, metal and stone, seashells and pottery, silk and cotton, jade and ivory from elephants' tusks have all been used to store mankind's memory.

Across the ancient Near East from Sumer to Egypt, common, familiar clay was finding use as writing media after it was baked suitably dry and hard by the sun or in a kiln, sometimes shaped as flat tablets, sometimes as octagonal cylinders. Moses received the Ten Commandments on "tablets of stone," which some scholars think were actually sun-dried clay. Historical records might be preserved in "books" consisting of a series of tablets varying in size from one to twelve inches square.

Although clay media offered permanent writing and record keeping, its disadvantages of cost, inconvenience and weight limited its value. The makers and keepers of records required something different, a medium which ideally was plentiful, cheap, lightweight, and reasonably durable in the short run.

Egyptians found it in the Nile river delta, the reed called papyrus, growing 10 feet high along its banks. From it, peasants constructed boats and huts. It would also prove to be what Will Durant termed "the very stuff (and nonsense)" of which civilization was made.[66] Workers split the reeds into thin strips, placed one layer crosswise over another, hammered them for a couple of hours, and let them dry. The product of this effort, a large sheet, weighed little but lasted for years. It could be rolled up for convenient transport and storage. Scribes tied smaller sheets together by passing a string through holes along one margin, an early form of bookbinding. Scribes could also fasten the papyrus sheets to form a single piece 30 feet or more in length, which they rolled around a cylinder of wood, metal or ivory.

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[65] Philip Marchand, *Marshall McLuhan: The Medium and the Messenger.* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1989) 124.
[66] Durant, *Our Oriental Heritage* 171.

Reeds gathered along the Nile would make Egypt a paper mill to other civilizations for an estimated 3,000 years, an astonishing span. Ships leaving the port city of Alexandria carried bales of papyrus to Athens, Rome and hundreds of other cities as literacy spread.

Ink and inking tools had evolved for untold centuries. Common soot such as collects on pots was mixed with water and some vegetable gum like plant sap to produce a serviceable ink. A reed cut to a point or a brush of hair from a braying animal served as a pen.

Throughout the Mediterranean world words on papyrus led to a knowledge explosion. Greek scientific thought began with Ionian philosophy starting in the 6th century B.C. Philip Gorman wrote, "It is no accident, by the way, that the growth of Ionian philosophy coincides in time and place with the development and widespread use of the Greek alphabet. In the ancient world the history of science and the history of literacy are one and the same."[67]

Aristotle could not have gathered the body of known knowledge without the means of creating a permanent record on a storable medium. Science and medicine could not have advanced as they did without ideas, conclusions, and reports of experiments written on a transportable medium. Aristotle's student, Theophrastus, who inherited his teacher's library, wrote extensively on botany, classifying more than 500 plants, some of which came from areas he never visited. His information seems to have come from his own observations, oral reports from informants, and writings by others.[68] Galen, who lived in the 2nd century A.D., systematized and summarized medical and biological treatises written by researchers over several of the previous centuries; astonishingly, his texts were still being used to teach medicine as late as the 19th century![69]

Papyrus widened Greek influence because the Greeks were the source of so much of the Mediterranean world's teaching. The Ptolemies who ruled Egypt and controlled the papyrus industry were of Greek origin. The Egyptian queen Cleopatra descended from one of Alexander's generals. Papyrus saw increasing use in the Hellenic world. As Greek influence dominated Egypt under the Ptolemies, the Greek-controlled port city of Alexandria in Egypt became the leading source of book publishing. With papyrus and the phonetic alphabet as the carrier of thought, knowledge and ideas traveled the Hellenic world and returned enriched.

With the quickening use in the ancient world of papyrus as the writing paper of the Mediterranean civilizations, old limitations on writing fell away. Government administration grew more efficient and commerce flourished. For slave and freeman literacy became a skill worth achieving, a path to a better life. The literate, those who could write and read contracts, oversee commercial dealings, and engage in exchanges of diplomatic notes, achieved a measure of influence. Illiterates hired scribes if it was necessary to conduct written business.

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[67] Philip J. Gorman, "Math and the Sciences in Ancient Literary Papyri," in Allen, Marti Lu, *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World.* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1991) 35.

[68] Payne 279-80.

[69] Lloyd 291-97.

In Egypt and Mesopotamia, the scribes, the programmers of the ancient world, had enjoyed a high social status because the writing was complex and took much study to learn. The scribal craft attracted recruits from the privileged classes.[70] Egyptian scribes, whose trade was literacy, considered themselves superior to other men, a persistent delusion of the literate.

Among the Greeks and Romans, perhaps because phonetic simplicities removed the mysteries of the writing craft, slaves were trained as copyists, readers, and, in Rome, librarians. For literate household slaves, the scribe's life was infinitely better than an existence of toiling in the fields, and no doubt longer. He kept the family's accounts, what was bought and what was sold, how much was paid or received for this and that. He counted the sheaves of wheat and the sheep going to market. He recorded the tribute given to the tax collectors and to the priests. Observing the statue of the nude Egyptian scribe in the Louvre, Will Durant surmised:

> He is sedulously attentive and mechanically industrious; he has just enough intelligence not to be dangerous. His life is monotonous, but he consoles himself by writing essays on the hardships of the manual worker's existence, and the princely dignity of those whose food is paper and whose blood is ink.[71]

The First Libraries

Ancient Egyptian temples held collections of writing principally on religion, liturgy and rituals. The temple libraries were called "houses of life." What little we know of their holdings we learn principally from Greek writers.[72] These were archives, not true libraries.[73] The Egyptians did not consider literacy a part of general education, but rather specialized training for government or temple bureaucracy.[74] Temple priests had a monopoly on papyrus, but some of the writing may have been on parchment, too. Nothing remains.

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[70] Gaur 150.

[71] Durant, *Our Oriental Heritage* 161.

[72] James W. Thompson, *Ancient Libraries.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940) 2.

[73] Thompson 15.

[74] Steven Shubert, "The Oriental Origins of the Alexandrian Library," *Libri* 1993, vol. 43 no. 2: 163.

We know more about Assyrian and Babylonian libraries because their books were on clay tablets which have survived the centuries. The oldest extant catalog of books is Sumerian, listing the titles of 62 literary works.[75] The first library of significance was built in Ninevah by kings of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., begun by Sargon, continued by Senacherib, and expanded by his grandson, Assurbanipal, who undertook a systematic collection of Assyro-Babylonian literature, neatly divided and each book numbered according to its location. It was the world's first organized library, estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 tablets. The Assyrian conquest of Babylon improved the collection considerably, because the conquered territory was ransacked for clay books on grammar, poetry, history, science, and religion.[76] The library was designed to serve church and state, to advance scientific knowledge, and to promote the fame of the king. Assurbanipal's library kept copyists, a library staff, and a cataloguing system to register its religious, historical and scientific documents.[77] The question of access is unclear, for this was a private royal reference library. Those highly placed at court could probably have gained access, but it was unlikely that this privilege was extended to scholars.[78]

Beyond this remarkable venture, we must look to the Greeks for the first real libraries. Like the world's first great literature, they came from Greek genius."[79] Until those libraries were assembled, scholars had to acquire what they needed by themselves. "As a result, science did not develop uniformly," writes Jacob Burckhardt.[80]

The burst of Greek lyric poetry has been attributed to cheap papyrus.[81] Access to supplies of papyrus brought the copying of books and perhaps the first private collections. Archives of some sort may have existed in Athens from at least the 6th century B.C.[82] Athens created a public depository of books in 330 B.C., during the lifetime of Aristotle, who according to the Greek historian Strabo, was the first book collector; it was Aristotle who taught the kings of Egypt to set up proper libraries instead of mere collections of books, and it is from his collections that we have the word "museum."[83]

Many other libraries, public and private, followed. What was being established, not by hearing it but by reading it, was the practice of acquiring knowledge.

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[75] Samuel Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer.* (Indian Hills, CO: Falcon's Wing Press, 1956) 254.

[76] Thompson 11.

[77] Alfred Hessel, *A History of Libraries.* Trans. Reuben Peiss. (New Brunswick, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1955) 2.

[78] Shubert 163.

[79] Thompson 17.

[80] Burckhardt 322.

[81] Innis 7

[82] Payne 277.

[83] Goody 55.

"Books" were actually rolls of papyrus, copied by scribes. Publishing or bookselling firms employing dozens of slaves trained as scribes could turn out hundreds of copies of well known manuscripts. Thanks to this mass production, prices fell to a relatively moderate level. Then as now, a book made a fine gift.

By the 5th century B.C. a Hellenic book market existed.[84] In the cities many of the free people could read and write. Greek culture, as was noted, remained predominantly oral but dependence on writing for the storing of knowledge continued to expand. Rome followed Greece. By the 4th century A.D. Rome could boast at least 28 libraries with 20,000 or more rolls each, divided into Greek and Roman sections.

The library at Pergamum, a Greek city-state in what is now western Turkey, known for its devotion to the arts including its grand library, figures in an interesting tale involving Cleopatra's ancestor, the Egyptian pharaoh Ptolemy. It seems that Ptolemy grew jealous of the library assembled by King Eumenes II, and blocked further shipments of papyrus to him. Eumenes, so the story goes, encouraged the mass production of treated animal skins, and that is how parchment came to rival papyrus and, later, paper.[85]

The greatest of the Hellenic world libraries, established by the Ptolemies at the start of the 3rd century B.C., was the Alexandrian, which served as a university, a research center, and a publishing house employing a cadre of educated slaves as scribes. Ships docking at Alexandria were searched for manuscripts that were not in the library. At its height in the first century A.D. the library, ambitiously intened to hold a copy of every book in the world, numbered hundreds of thousands of manuscripts. Its collection generated dictionaries, concordances, and encyclopedias.[86]

The Alexandrian Library was partly destroyed in 48 B.C. during street fighting in an uprising after Julius Caesar captured the city. As compensation for the lost Museum library scrolls, numbering some 200,000 scrolls, and perhaps as a further expression of his affection for Cleopatra, Antony was accused of making a gift to the Alexandrian Library of the library of Pergamum, which was Roman state property.

All tales of how the Alexandrian Library was finally destroyed are in dispute. According to one version, the famed library was demolished by a mob of infuriated Christians in the 5th century. In the 12th century a libel was spread that this library had been destroyed by Moslems.[87]

Beyond the Classical Period

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[84] Finley16.
[85] Durant, *The Life of Greece* 600.
[86] Shubert 143.
[87] Thompson 23.

Papyrus had its limitations. Manuscripts made from the reeds growing along the banks of the Nile eventually turned brittle and disintegrated. Only a very few papyri still survive in libraries, carefully preserved. A further limitation, papyrus came from one source, Egypt. Something more durable and more universally available was needed. That was parchment, made from the split skin of a sheep, a calf, or a goat. The wool side became leather. The lining side, parchment, a writing surface. Ancient writers also used vellum, from unborn lambs or kids.

Like papyrus, parchment was rolled up as books, with their edges fastened, page after page, or folded into books, their pages cut and bound for turning. Both papyrus and parchment lent themselves to collecting and archiving. Both were relatively cheap and just as easy to transport. Parchment had some advantages. It could take writing on both sides. It was sturdy and durable, which schoolchildren and travelers appreciated, but less so the scribes, for writing on parchment took some physical effort. It was actually recyclable, because the ink could be removed and the parchment written on again. Perhaps its greatest advantage was that it could be fabricated anywhere there were sheep.

Both were to continue in use for centuries, interchangeable as writing media. Which would be in supply depended partly upon political conditions. The parchment *codex*, the cut and folded pages that made up a book, found wider employment at about the same time as Christianity spread. By the second century, Christianity had developed a strong written tradition with the publication in Greek, on books of parchment codex, of the four Gospels, making them accessible across the known world in a familiar language.

The written tradition was strengthened in the third century as scholars tried to find a synthesis between Hebraic religious beliefs, which were at the base of Christianity, and Greek philosophy, which was at the base of intellectual life in the Roman empire. In this period a tradition of writing things down on papyrus overcame the continuing oral tradition of the Hebrew and Greek peoples.

As for the phonetic alphabet, so essential an element of the first information revolution, from the Greek alphabet came the Roman, and from that came others of Western civilization including, of course, English.

The story of papyrus would be different. Half a world away, another civilization, older and more firmly established than the Greek, had long ago learned to rely upon a different, non-alphabetic writing, and upon paper, a medium much cheaper to produce, which would one day sweep into history papyrus, parchment, and all other writing surfaces. Yet China, where paper and printing with movable type were invented, would never give rise to an information revolution.

With the fiery charge of Islam in the 7th century across the Middle East and North Africa, exports of papyrus from Egypt to Europe dropped sharply. McLuhan has argued that this led to declines in bureaucracy, uniform roads, and cities.[88] In Europe, now began centuries of church control over knowledge and information, the Dark Ages of western civilization. As monasteries were built in Europe, monks, chiefly Benedictines, took up the profession of scribe. Among their tasks, they were charged with the duty of transcribing the crumbling the old papyrus manuscripts in the libraries onto fresh parchment that was prepared in or near the monastery. To be a scribe was no longer a mean calling. It was to do the work of God.

* * *

In a world of darkness, Greece lit the lamp of reason. Writing allowed that lamp to shine for all the generations to come.

The first information revolution, the Writing Revolution, proceeded slowly but moved the Hellenic world — and subsequently Western civilization — from an exclusively oral culture to one that left its tracks by means of writing. During this period, approximately the 8th through the 4th centuries B.C., the world's first democracies formed in the Greek city-states. It had taken about five hundred years for literacy to suffuse Greek society, roughly the length of time between the day that Moses brought the Laws from the hand of God and widespread literacy among the Children of Israel.[89]

Like our current 20th century information revolution, that earlier historical watershed in human affairs came about with a convergence of communication technologies in a location receptive to change. The technologies were the phonetic alphabet, which the Semites had invented, and papyrus, a suitable writing surface brought north from Egypt. They fell on fertile soil, for the Greeks, enmeshed in political and economic turmoil, were intelligent, curious, and relatively free. Above all, their focus was humanistic. Located beyond the peripheries of the vast Assyrian and Egyptian empires, yet trading with them, the Greeks created their own culture, borrowing from their neighbors to formulate what became uniquely their own.[90]

The gradual adoption by the Greeks of a written culture deserves the appellation "information revolution" every bit as much as our current age. According to Havelock:

> In the eighth century we see a new technology of communication become available which provided a second and quite different method of preserving the tradition. It requires historical imagination at first to see how drastic the revolution was, and to understand how

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[88] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) 100.
[89] Logan 103.
[90] William F. Ogburn, *Social Change*. (New York: The Viking Press, 1950) 35.

> it was destined in the end to penetrate and alter every cultural condition and social relationship in Europe.[91]

The invention of writing made it possible to encapsulate information and send it winging across space and time to be pored over by other minds in different places and different centuries, continuing to benefit our own minds today. Political and communication changes would continue to intertwine across continents and eras.

With writing used to store knowledge, the human mind would no longer be restricted by the limits of memory. Knowledge henceforth would have no boundaries. To the Greek writers who went beyond mundane communication into the sciences, philosophy and religion, there was allowed, beyond simple pictographs on walls, a means of surviving their own lifespan by leaving behind their mortal years a detailed legacy of their thoughts, satisfying the unspoken but ever present human need to be remembered.

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[91] Havelock 292.

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The *Andromeda Strain* Phenomenon: Mutating Systems and International Communication Policy

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The *Andromeda Strain* Phenomenon: Mutating Systems and International Communication Policy

In Michael Crichton's science fiction classic, the dangerous Andromeda Strain mutated so rapidly that the scientists could not combat it. In much the same way, modern communication technologies are changing at such a rate that policy makers cannot keep up with them. By the time governments react to one development, the information structure has mutated to another form. Debates over free flow of information can be traced back to efforts by the Associated Press to expand its markets in the 1930s and 1940s. International communication issues gained global prominence with the call for a New World Information and Communication Order in the 1970s and early 1980s. In this debate, Third World nations attempted to combat unequal news flows and establish mass media policies. The debate ended after the United States withdrew from the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization in 1984. But, like the Andromeda Strain, the communication debate has mutated once again— it can now be found in trade talks and agreements relating to mass media technologies. Both international communication issues and new technologies exhibit chaotic behavior as they escape the control of authorities and change rapidly.

In Michael Crichton's science fiction classic *The Andromeda Strain*, a satellite carrying a dangerous organism from outer space fell to earth and within minutes the organism had killed almost all the people in a small town. Scientists attempted to identify and combat the organism during a tense five-day race to save the world. However, it mutated so quickly that before they could really react to the danger, the organism changed to a benign form and the threat vanished. In much the same way, the modern communication systems and technologies are changing so quickly that policy makers cannot keep up with them. By the time governments react to one development, the information structure has mutated to a new form.

In the last twenty years the conflict over media systems gained international prominence through efforts in the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization,[1] the Non-Aligned Movement, and the New World Information and Communication Order. The movement reached its apex with the Mass Media Declaration in 1978 and the MacBride Report in 1980. This new information order has been interpreted as an East-West conflict, a North-South debate, a "haves" and "have-nots" issue, a fight for freedom of the press, a struggle against neo-colonialism or imperialism, and a case for national sovereignty. Sean MacBride, writing in the preface of the MacBride Report, *Many Voices, One World*, said:

> In the 1970s, international debates on communications issues had stridently reached points of confrontation in many areas. Third world protests against the dominant flow of news from the industrialized countries were often construed as attacks on the free flow of information. Defenders of journalistic freedom were labelled intruders on national sovereignty. Varying concepts of news values and the rôle, rights and responsibilities of journalists were widely contended, as was the potential contribution of the mass media to the solution of major world problems.[2]

International pressures and the U.S. withdrawal from Unesco squelched the new information order debate in the Unesco forum in the early 1980s. However, recent conflicts over technology, international communications, news content and flows, and cultural effects of media messages, show that although some gains for developing nations were made during the debate, the issues were not resolved.

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[1] Hereafter "Unesco" in accordance with the organization's internal style guide.

[2] *Many Voices, One World* (Paris, France: Unesco Press, 1980), xvii.

This essay examines how governments and international agencies attempted to cope with mass media technology in the new world information and communication order debate during the 1970s and 1980s. It also explores recent mutations of technology and of the new world information debate, as well as presents possible applications of chaos theory to further discussion of the changing information structure.

Coping with Mass Media

One scholar who was involved in the Unesco movement since the early 1970s conceded that the debate over the world information order presented nothing new in international politics.[3] Debates over information flows, freedom of the press, and international implications of communication go back centuries to the India of Asoka, dissident Hebrew sects, and Socrates in Athens.[4] In the 17th century, John Milton argued for broader freedom of the press in his *Areopagitica* (1644), proposing that in a free and open encounter between truth and falsehood, truth would always emerge the victor. The U.S. Constitution's First Amendment upheld freedom of the press, and the ideals developed into a broader libertarian theory with the debate over the Sedition Act of 1798.[5]

The first news agencies of the 1800s, created soon after the invention of the telegraph, capitalized on and extended the ideals of press freedom. A group of New York newspapers began the Associated Press cooperative in 1848, and almost a decade later, the three big European agencies—Reuters of Britain, Havas of France, and Wolff of Germany—formed the League of Allied Agencies, or the "Ring Combination," which divided the world into three areas for the coverage of business and news, each agency receiving a concession for a different area.

As technology made it easier to communicate with different parts of the world, nations began to address topics such as the telegraph and its implications for national sovereignty during conferences in the 1870s. In related communication developments, the International

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[3] Kaarle Nordenstreng and Lauri Hannikainen, *The Mass Media Declaration of Unesco* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1984), 4.

[4] *Many Voices*, 7.

[5] See Leonard W. Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Telecommunications Union was founded in 1865, the Universal Postal Union in 1874, and the World Intellectual Property Organization in 1883.

In the 1930s, Americans complained about the news flow, saying the British news agency Reuters "decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about the Indians on the war path in the West, lynchings in the South and bizarre crimes in the North. The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America ever was sent."[6] Under Kent Cooper, then general manager of Associated Press, the American agency began to compete for more of the international market. Ironically, Third World nations were to use similar complaints about the news flow against the United States and other Western nations forty years later:[7]

> The Western press gives inadequate and superficial attention to the realities of developing countries, often infusing coverage with cultural bias. The traditional emphasis on the dramatic, the emotional and the amusing—the "coups and earthquakes" syndrome—is seen not only as unbalanced but also as detrimental to the development process.[8]

After World War II, the United States unsuccessfully attempted to include free flow of information in the charter of the United Nations. However, the United States was able to influence the Unesco charter. Assistant Secretary of State William Benton, who headed the U.S. delegation to create Unesco in 1945, assigned Archibald MacLeish to help write the preamble. MacLeish wrote the most quoted line—"since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed"—thus "linking freedom of expression, including the press, with the objective of international peace."[9] A specific provision on free flow of information was included in Unesco's constitution (Article I, 2a), which reflected the ideology and foreign policy of the dominating Western powers. "The 'free flow' concept was enthusiastically supported by American media organizations, which saw in it an opportunity to further weaken the prewar stranglehold on information held by European news cartels."[10]

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[6] Kent Cooper, *Barriers Down* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942), 12.

[7] See Margaret A. Blanchard," The Crusade for Worldwide Freedom of Information: American Attempts to Shape World War II Peace Treaties," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (Winter 1983): 583-588.

[8] Mort Rosenblum, "Reporting from the Third World," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1977, 816; quoted in Howard H. Frederick, *Global Communication & International Relations* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993), 131.

[9] Leonard R. Sussman, "The MacBride Movement: Old 'New Order' leads to the new," *Gazette* 50 (1992): 88.

In principle the nations did agree that all people had the right to freedom of thought and opinion. The 1946 U.N. General Assembly recommended that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) form a Commission on Human Rights; this commission eventually produced Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that states "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."[11] But anti-Western powers began to turn the free-flow phraseology to their own use. In Unesco's 1947 General Conference, the Polish delegate quoted MacLeish's line and said the free flow of information was only a pretext for false news supplied by powerful news agencies. The attempts by the United States to export First Amendment ideals failed with the growth of Cold War antagonisms, the increase in authoritarian governments, and the inability to translate the broad tenets of the First Amendment into press freedom realities.[12] Some early movements considered in the U.N. General Assembly and ECOSOC such as freedom of information, standards for professional conduct (including an international code of ethics for journalists), and the right of reply, all disappeared in the 1950s with the Cold War.[13]

During the 1960s, Unesco, in accordance with its stated purpose to help developing countries, began to study communication infrastructures and set basic standards for the number of newspapers, radio stations, and cinema seats in the nations. In 1965 Unesco approached some political involvement in information issues when it issued a report stressing that the media should use space communications systems "for the benefit of all peoples."[14]

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[10] C. Anthony Giffard, *Unesco and the Media* (New York: Longman Inc., 1989), 19.
[11] United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 10 December 1948, Article 19.
[12] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 88-89.
[13] Nordenstreng, 13.
[14] Giffard, 20.

The composition of Unesco changed over the years as the Soviet Union and the developing countries joined the organization. These new arrivals constituted a shift in political power; Unesco began to represent its members and address mass media issues. The early years of the mass media debate also were a continuation of the 1960s decolonization process as the developing countries began to accumulate power in the Non-Aligned Movement. In the 1960s, developing countries began to realize their situation had not improved despite their newly-independent status. In fact, the development strategies only intensified dependence on the United States and other western powers, bringing back the term "imperialism" to describe the new form economic colonialism.[15]

The imbalance in news flows, especially that of television became an obvious target for Third World nations. In their view, national autonomy was threatened by international communication media and new technologies. The Third World countries began to call for a "free and balanced flow" rather than a "free flow of information" and several Latin American countries developed national communication policies to defend their cultural sovereignty.[16] The Third World complained that the news worthiness of events in neighboring and developing countries was determined by the Western news agencies—Associated Press, United Press International, Agence France Presse, and Reuters. The agencies ignored much of the developmental news even though such information "may be vital and, indeed crucial, in planning international trade and foreign policy for another Third World nation."[17]

Together with the call for a new order in international communications was the movement for a new economic order. As such, the new information order can be seen as a symptom of deeper struggles as socialist countries and the Soviet Union consolidated power and Third World countries began to develop their agendas and voices in the international community. Thus the media debate became a reflection of conflicting social, economic, and political forces in the world.

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[15] John Sinclair, "Neither West nor Third World: the Mexican television industry within the NWICO debate," *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 344.

[16] Sinclair, 345-346.

[17] Anantha Sudhaker Babbili, "Understanding international discourse: political realism and the Non-Aligned nations," *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 318.

Under Director-General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Unesco became a forum for the debate in which the critique of U.S. domination in the mass media became an attack on capitalism and the Western system by socialist and developing nations.[18] By the early 1980s, the proponents for the new order included more than one hundred countries, some with the most democratic governments and some with the most authoritarian.[19]

The expression "new world information and communication order" had its roots in a 1969 Unesco "Meeting of Experts on the Information Media and Sociology" in Montreal, Canada, that addressed the free flow of information and cultural imperialism.[20] The "official" history of Unesco's Mass Media Declaration began in November 1970 at the 16th session of Unesco's General Conference in Paris. Developing nations called for a new information order and a more balanced flow of information; however the resolution's language was seen as threat to press freedom in the West.[21]

The New Delhi Declaration, which was prepared by information ministers from fifty-nine Non-Aligned Countries during the summer of 1976, said the existing communication order justified the demands for a new order. Its points are typical of many of the documents calling for a new information order throughout the debate in the 1970s and included the following items:

- Global information flows are imbalanced, with the majority of countries reduced to being passive recipients of information;
- The situation perpetuates colonial dependence and domination;

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[18] Colleen Roach, "The Movement for a New World Information and Communication Order: a second wave?" *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 283.

[19] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 85.

[20] Unesco, *Mass Media in Society: The Need of Research*, Unesco Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 59 (Paris: 1970); also Unesco documents COM/MD/20 (Paris, 10 September 1971) and COM/MD/24 (Paris, 1 December 1972).

[21] Unesco resolution 4.301; Unesco, *Records of the General Conference, Sixteenth Session*, Paris, 12 October to 14 November 1970 (Paris, 1971); this document and others relating to the Mass Media Declaration are also reproduced in Unesco, *Historical Background of the Mass Media Declaration*, Unesco series New Communication Order, No. 9 (Paris, 1982).

- A few agencies dominate the information flow, forcing the rest of the world to see each other and themselves through these agencies;
- Dependence in the information field retards political and economic growth;
- Freedom of information comes to mean the freedom of a few to propagate information in the manner of their choosing and the denial of others to inform and be informed; and
- The Non-Aligned countries have been the victims of this imbalance.[22]

The Non-Aligned countries did not have the technological infrastructure necessary to compete in the international communications market. Moreover, many nations contended that their economic base would not support much of the commercial media found in Western nations. As such, they attempted to cope with the changing technological and political developments through a series of resolutions and declarations prepared in international forums.

Between 1972 and 1974, communications issues had moved onto the agenda of Unesco's general conferences as the nations debated draft declarations on "Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War." The West opposed much of the language, especially the articles that stated each nation was responsible for the actions of the media under its jurisdiction. At the same time, Unesco began debate on professional standards in the field of mass media or a professional code of ethics for journalists.[23] A resolution submitted by the Soviet Union in the 1972 General Conference proposed that the principle of prior consent be applied to television programs beamed from one country to another by direct broadcast satellites. Only the United States voted against the resolution.[24]

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[22] Nordenstreng, 10-11.

[23] Unesco, *Records of the General Conference, Seventeenth Session*, Volume 2: Reports (Paris: Unesco, 1974), 112-113.

[24] Unesco, *Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange* (15 November 1972); Unesco General Conference Resolution 4.113 (15 November 1972).

In 1975, the December debate over information was broken up when Arab states, backed by the Soviet Union, tried to link Zionism and U.N. Resolution 3379, adopted a month earlier by the 30th session of the U.N. General Assembly, to the mass media proposal.[25] Western delegations, including the United States, walked out of the meeting.

Concurrently, Non-Aligned countries addressed the same mass media issues. The March 1976 Non-Aligned Symposium of Information in Tunis, Tunisia, was attended by thirty-eight member states and thirteen observers. The countries set out a political framework for the decolonization of countries from imperialist powers:

> Since information in the world shows a disequilibrium favouring some and ignoring others, it is the duty of the non-aligned countries and the other developing countries to change this situation and obtain the decolonization of information and initiate a new international order in information.[26]

A similar meeting sponsored by Unesco in July 1976 called for a Latin American and Caribbean news agency and news pool. This Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in San José, Costa Rica, was surrounded by controversy as major western news agencies boycotted the meeting and set up an opposition command post across the street to defend press freedoms. The San José Declaration along with earlier conferences laid the foundation for the role of national communication systems in Third World countries. The media's primary function was "within the framework of national identity and social integration."[27]

The August 1976 Fifth Conference of Heads of State or the Government of the Non-Aligned Countries met in Colombo, Sri Lanka, with the participation of eighty-seven members. This conference, the highest authority of the Non-Aligned Movement, adopted the press agencies pool, created a coordinating council, endorsed the New Delhi Declaration, and legitimized the demands for a new order.[28]

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[25] Unesco document 19C/91, Annex II (1 July 1976).

[26] Secretariat of State for Information, Tunis, "Information in the Non-Aligned Countries; Vol. 1: Final Resolutions, Speeches and Messages, Working Papers" (Tunis, 1976), 30.

[27] Amde-Michael Habte, "The Mass Media Role in the Third World," in *Comparative Mass Media Systems*, L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary, eds. (New York: Longman Inc., 1983), 106.

The 19th Unesco General Conference in Nairobi in November 1976 was no less controversial than the previous meetings. The United States supported a more moderate plan as opposed to the mass media declaration, which was sponsored by the Soviet Union. To gain the support of developing countries, the United States agreed to help improve their communications capabilities with financial backing and resources.[29] Also as part of the agreement, the convention created the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, led by former Irish Foreign Minister Sean MacBride, winner of both Nobel and Lenin peace prizes.

Throughout the first months of 1978, Unesco participated in extensive diplomatic work to rewrite the media declaration and arrive at a compromise. In November at the 20th General Conference in Paris, the Mass Media Declaration, "Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War," passed without any dissenting votes of Unesco's 146 member states. The Declaration attempted to deal with the information structure of the 1970s. It acknowledged the important role the media play in international relations, called for a "free flow and a wider and better balanced dissemination of information" (Article I), and also said "it is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries, and between those countries" (Article VI).[30] Language offensive to the West regarding the free flow of information was removed or changed, and an international code of journalistic ethics was not included. The Mass Media Declaration was the first resolution ever passed in a forum of the United Nations exclusively devoted to the question of the new information order.[31]

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[28] The proceedings of the Colombo summit, 5 September 1976, have been published in *Review of International Affairs*, No. 634 (Belgrade, 1976); also in Giffard, 21-22; Nordenstreng, 11.

[29] Giffard, 23.

[30] Unesco document 20C/20, Rev., 21 November 1978.

[31] Nordenstreng, 23.

So in the 1970s, the free flow of information was challenged as more nations achieved independence and a vote in U.N. agencies. Unesco meetings and conferences became a forum for developing nations to criticize Western domination of international communications channels and demand a more balanced circulation of news. "The Soviet Union capitalized on this dissatisfaction, joining the developing nations in accusing the Western-based international news agencies of 'media imperialism,' and of serving the interests of major corporations in their search for global markets."[32] However, the nations managed to work out a compromise position in the Mass Media Declaration.

The Declaration was as much a reflection of political and social conflict as it was an instrument relating to mass media. The conflicts were based more on politics—East-West and North-South relations—than differences in press ideology. The adoption of the declaration demonstrated that information and mass media began to play a more important role in international relations, with Unesco reflecting the current thoughts and forces of the day.

Despite its acceptance by virtually every government, there is wide interpretation as to the power of the Mass Media Declaration. Some believe nations are bound by international law to respect its provisions; the Declaration is a step toward creating international law to affect media messages.[33] However, Western nations reject the Declaration as part of international law and generally view it as no more than a broad statement of purpose.[34]

The consensus reached on the Declaration was short lived. The free flow of information was debated in a series of international press meetings, with the split between the West and the coalition of socialist and developing nations continuing to increase.[35] The 21st session of the Unesco General Conference in Belgrade (1980) was historical because it formally established the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) and brought together all the elements of the new information order debate. The IPDC is a vehicle for technology transfer and training to improve Third World communications capabilities. It is financed from Unesco's budget and voluntary contributions from member states.[36] "In its efforts to influence Unesco communications policies, the United States has used both the carrot and the stick approaches," or the threat to withhold funds coupled with offers of assistance to build up Third World communications infrastructures.[37] The creation of the IPDC was part of the carrot offered by Western powers.

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[32] Giffard, 20.
[33] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 93.
[34] Giffard, 25.
[35] Nordenstreng, 48.

One product of the conference was the final report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, the MacBride Report, Many Voices, One World. The report, written by a sixteen-member commission, strongly upheld libertarian press values and condemned censorship and the licensing of journalists. But it also was biased against private-sector involvement in communications media. Western nations received the MacBride Report with mixed feelings. "Hardly anyone found it particularly exciting, since it offered little new, politically or substantially, beyond pooling various earlier ideas and proposals."[38] One advocate of the free flow of information wrote that the application of the MacBride Report could lead "to wider accessibility and interaction among communicators, professional and non-professional, in developing and developed countries, and the poor and rich among them all."[39]

The reasonable and balanced positions in both the media declaration and the MacBride Report show that several underlying assumptions are generally accepted among all nations: Western media dominate the international news and information flows; the content of global news flows should better reflect realities in countries without adequate communication facilities; and developing countries should be allowed to share in the facilities, particularly the new communication technologies.[40] The Belgrade conference was surrounded by controversy, which was exacerbated by the Western mass media coverage. The conflict did not simmer down with the end of the conference, but continued until the United States withdrew from Unesco at the end of 1984.[41] The U.S. withdrawal from Unesco effectively halted the drive for a new information order. In the 1987 Unesco conference in Paris, Director-General Federico Mayor Zaragoza, successor to M'Bow, said Unesco no longer had plans for a new information order. In 1989, his new formulation for communication programs acknowledged that a major change in the direction of Unesco was in process, that the new information order had caused "misunderstandings" and was now only a fact of history, and that Unesco would concentrate on professional training and providing communication infrastructures for developing nations.[42] The secretariat has adopted the policy language of the United States used throughout the new information order debates, saying that in order to redress imbalances one must increase the capacity of all to communicate, not curtail the flow of information. "This position, which ignores any question of content, is consistent with the US policy of adopting a purely quantitative approach to international communication issues."[43] Some Third World countries in Unesco still do not support this position.[44] However "there is a convincing case for the view that the debate is more or less over, at least within the main forum in which it was conducted."[45]

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[36] Unesco, *Records of the General Conference, Twenty-First Session*, Belgrade, 23 September to 28 October 1980, Vol. I, Resolutions (Paris: Unesco, 1980).

[37] Giffard, 34.

[38] Nordenstreng, 39.

[39] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 106.

[40] Ibid., 105.

However the topic still continues to surface. Several conferences in 1989, especially those of the Non-Aligned Movement, called for a new information order. The first MacBride RoundTable on Communication in Harare in October 1989 discussed demands for changes in "international as well as national and local information and communication processes which ought to support the tendencies of pluralism, decentralization, cultural ecology and democratization."[46] A second MacBride RoundTable in Prague in 1990 addressed changes in

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[41] Nordenstreng, 52-53.

[42] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 97.

[43] Colin Sparks and Colleen Roach, Editorial, *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (1990): 287.

[44] Roach, 295.

[45] Sparks, 275.

[46] Slavko Splichal, "NIICO—dead or alive? MacBride Round Table on Communication in Harare, 27-9 October 1989," *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 400.

Eastern Europe and a third RoundTable in Istanbul after the Gulf War warned against monopolies in communication media ownership and talked about cultural issues.

One of the most important contributions of the new information order debate was that it raised international awareness of news flows and news agencies. Information about news flows and their content were not readily available before the new information order became an issue. Since then, a large number of works, surveys, and studies have been published.[47] The research demonstrates that although there has been some improvement, international news flow quality "remains poor, with intensifying focus on Third World violent conflict and crisis" as the news moves through various gatekeepers to reach the general public.[48]

The new information order also encouraged the development of regional news agencies and improved technical and professional cooperation between many news organizations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[49] Despite the growth of such agencies, world news and information flows continue to rely on Western news agencies and wire services. Developments or changes in Western agencies influence Third World national agencies. For example, as Western agencies shift to provide financial information, Third World agencies follow suit. Some scholars note a change toward more positive coverage of Third World countries as a result of the new information order. However, others say the shift was not made out of concern for the Third World, but was a result of changing market demands as the news agencies rely more on financial information than news for their major source of revenue.[50]

A review of the MacBride Report more than ten years after its publication found that in radio and television distribution, generally the rich have stayed rich and the poor have stayed poor. While some change has occurred in radio receiver ownership, the fundamental pattern has not been modified since the disparities are still found in the same places.[51] This study demonstrated "that the communications picture has improved for the developing countries in absolute terms, although not in terms relative to the industrialized countries."[52] In another study the researchers concluded that the world information order became a global phenomenon because of the "the recurring patterns of unequal distribution of resources and one-way traffic of news and information. These patterns have continued."[53] With the close of the new information debate, the West achieved its ideological point, the developing countries received commitments to enlarge their communication infrastructures, scholars published new studies of media content and news flow, and alternative news agencies began work. The major loser was Unesco.[54] However, whatever the fate of the new information order debate as part of Unesco, "the issues which underlay the debate are by no means exhausted or superseded."[55] The tensions that underlie the confrontation between Western industrialized nations and Third World countries still persist. In other words, basic ideas of the new information order did not die, but mutated to new forms in recent years.

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[47] See Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, "The 'World of the News' Study," *Journal of Communication* 34 (Winter 1984): 121-134.

[48] Hamid Mowlana, *Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Relations* (New York: Longman, 1986), 38.

[49] Ibid., 31.

[50] Mohammed Musa, "News agencies, transnationalization and the new order," *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 330, 334.

Mutating information structures

In the 1970s, many nations reacted to the unequal news flow and general political situation of the day with the call for a new information order. Since that time, information and communication structures have been influenced by Andromeda Strain changes in politics, culture, and technology.

The global political situation has mutated drastically since the first proposal of a new information order with revolutions in Eastern Europe and South America, the break-up of the Soviet Union, and changes in many other developing and developed countries. In a simplistic sense, there are no longer First, Second, and Third worlds. Rather, a broader division exists between rich and poor and these two worlds can be found within both industrialized and developing nations.[56]

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[51] Susan Beam, "Surveying the territory: re-examining MacBride and theories of development," *Gazette* 50 (1992): 118, 122.

[52] Ibid., 128.

[53] Tsan-Kuo Chang and Jae-Won Lee, "U.S. Gatekeepers and the New World Information Order: Journalistic Qualities and Editorial Positions," *Political Communication* 10 (July-September. 1993): 304.

[54] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 99.

[55] Sparks, 278.

Moreover, nation-states are no longer the only political and economic actors in the world.[57] Other forces included transnational corporations, regional alliances, forces within nations, private interests, and culture groups that cross political boundaries.[58] Transnational private corporations are seen as direct threats to national sovereignty, especially when they deal in information or communications media. Governments and corporations, as well as many other organizations, may attempt to interfere with or influence the news through direct or indirect censorship.[59]

Sovereignty issues become even more important and complex in international trade negotiations. One scholar suggested that the new information order debate is now surfacing in trade negotiations as the United States attempts to get the trade in services, or information, included under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a set of international trade agreements designed to deal with goods. In fact, in the December 1993 agreement, the nations agreed to leave out issues relating to entertainment and information technologies including free trade of movies, television programs, music, and financial services such as banking and stock brokerage.[60] Thus the U.S. attempt to extend free trade in "information" has met great resistance from both developed and developing nations. One scholar maintained that the "inclusion of trade in services under the GATT would accelerate the shift of power from the national to the international level, while making it easier for US-based legal and regulatory approaches to extend their reach internationally."[61] This makes developing countries very nervous as they already feel their sovereignty is under attack. The "rhetorical reliance upon 'free flow' does little to allay fears based upon historical experience, but rather provides a convenient hinge to flip between ideological visions having to do with libertarian notions of freedom of speech and pragmatic visions having to do with making more money by shipping more things around the world."[62] Thus the political aspect of information flows continues to be debated in a variety of forums, including trade agreements.

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[56] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 84.

[57] Hamid Mowlana, "The new global order and cultural ecology," *Media, Culture and Society* 15 (August 1993): 26.

[58] Sinclair, 346-347.

[59] Musa, 328.

[60] Peter Passell, "U.S. and Europe Clear the Way for a World Accord on Trade, Setting Aside Major Disputes/ How Free Trade Prompts Growth: A Primer," *New York Times*, 15 December 1993, 1A and D18-19.

[61] Sandra Braman, "Trade and information policy," *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 361, 373, 377.

Added to a mutating political scene are changes in culture with the creation of the information society or information age. In this society, information, technology, concepts, and equipment merge in complex interrelationships.[63] One study by Hamid Mowlana looked at the effects of this information society on a specific cultural group—Islamic societies. For these societies, one of the crucial questions is the "ultimate control of information processing and technology in the contemporary electronic age and the gradual disappearance of oral or traditional culture that has been a major force in resisting cultural domination."[64] In effect, the global information communication system is debated on moral and ethical grounds, not just on a political or economic basis. The "new global order" based on the information society paradigm is one of a small group of advanced industrialized nations that push other entities to the peripheries. However, "the world also is witnessing a second development—a desire and, indeed, a quest for a new cultural order which goes beyond the simple notion of communication and information."[65] The movement in the Islamic community is one such example, Mowlana explained. Thus different cultures are reacting or attempting to cope with changes in politics and information flows.

Even more than politics or culture, the most dramatic changes can be seen in the technological developments. For example, the problems and issues of international and national communications satellite systems have taken the new information order beyond relatively simple matters of broadcast frequency allocation and teledetection surveillance to the questions of allocation of satellite orbital positions and defense of national territory.[66] "Theoretical assumptions and analytical frameworks which seemed appropriate at the time now appear misconceived and unresponsive to present complexities."[67] In one study of international currency speculation, the French government concluded that nations cannot control cash flow through computer networks. "They concluded that it was impossible to implement 'a coherent financial policy' because worldwide electronic currency transfer makes exchange systems 'volatile.' The continuous development of new technologies is likely to intensify the threats to national sovereignty and the corresponding reactions of states."[68] In some sense, nations act as if they control their rights, "but the erosion of sovereignty through communication technology and new transnational actors is paralleled by the growing constraints on freedom of national action and the increasing responsibility seen for international organizations."[69]

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[62] Ibid., 377.
[63] Mowlana, *Global Information*, 197.
[64] Mowlana, "Cultural ecology," 11.
[65] Ibid., 25.

Some people praise the technological developments in communication and say it is these technologies that will "ultimately produce a new world information and communication system that can provide access for everyone, everywhere to vast stores of information."[70] However, others maintain that the changes only serve to widen the gap between the information rich and the information poor.[71] Such technological developments create a "highly stratified information system" in which vital information needed for effective political judgments are "confined to elite publications only," such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News & World Report*, which are out of reach of the common man in most Third World nations.[72]

Many of these concerns center on direct satellite broadcasts and computer networks with their transborder data flows. Much of the world sees unregulated direct broadcasting systems as a threat to national sovereignty, especially in the areas of propaganda, commercial domination, and cultural intrusion. Countries fear that the technology will result in unwanted reception of foreign programming, whether the spillover is unintentional or intentional.[73] Such countries are also concerned about the balance of the flow of satellite messages. "The principle of free flow of information would be more palatable if it were not unidirectional or nearly so."[74] However, any action governments could take, such as trying to jam signals, confiscation of equipment, or even shooting down the satellites, are neither realistically workable nor politically feasible. Without clear or easy solutions to such problems and questions, the issue continues to be debated internationally.

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[66] Sinclair, 348.
[67] Ibid., 343.
[68] Mowlana, *Global Information*, 103.
[69] Ibid., 205.
[70] Sussman, "MacBride Movement," 105.
[71] Musa, 328.
[72] Ibid., 340.

Supporters of direct broadcasting and satellite systems claim that communications satellites will "seriously erode the power and durability" of closed societies, allowing them to "begin to breathe again."[75] However, "satellites cannot provide the solutions to problems which are primarily political, economic and sociological and . . . if satellites are used as an alternative to painful structural reforms, they are more likely to consolidate and perpetuate those conditions which in the first place produced the problems."[76] Technology should serve all, not just the people in power.

> It should be recognized that the quantity and quality of information-communication means which are now available, and the speed with which they have been developing and penetrating all spheres of human activity, especially in the industrially developed countries, has introduced hitherto unknown dimensions of power, expressed both in terms of possibilities and dangers for human progress, the achievement of equality and justice, and a higher degree of democratic participation of people everywhere.[77]

Thus technological and scientific developments in communication, "have far exceeded the ability of both policy makers and the academic community to deal effectively with such innovations."[78]

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[73] Mowlana, *Global Information*, 64, 67.

[74] Ibid., 68.

[75] Neville D Jayaweera, "Communication Satellites: A Third-World Perspective," in *Information Technology and a New International Order*, Edited by Transnational Data Reporting Service, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (Sweden: Studentlitteratur AB Chartwell-Bratt Ltd., 1984), 110-111.

[76] Ibid., 124.

[77] Breda Pavlic and Cees J. Hamelink, *The New International Economic Order: Links between Economics and Communications*, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 98 (Paris: Unesco Press, 1985), 51.

[78] Mowlana, Global Information, 161.

Even more than satellites, a relatively recent phenomena is the Internet or so-called information superhighway. The Internet is growing extremely rapidly. Some estimates placed 30,000 interconnected networks and 2.5 million or more attached computers on the Internet as of March 1994.[79] Proponents of international computer networks argue that such developments offer less developed countries cheaper access to scientific and technical information. Critics say that the systems promulgate dependency relationships.[80] Other issues relating to these transborder data flows are the protection of privacy and cultural identity. For many Third World nations, the most frightening aspect of the transmission of machine-readable information across borders on international networks, is that transborder data flows are next to impossible to monitor.[81] The lack of control is also a concern for many Western governments and private businesses, especially with the proliferation of computer hackers and computer crime. In effect, neither developed nor developing nations are sure how to deal with the rapid technological mutations.

Mutations and Chaos Theory

The debate about communication and mass media issues mutated from news agencies in the 1930s and 1940s, to free news flows and the new world information order in 1970s and 1980s. Now it is surfacing in international trade negotiations and debates in other areas of culture and technology. If the free flow of information debate is evidence of deeper problems or differences, then when the underlying structure mutates, the information debate with also change. Technology with the subsequent dissemination of information will continue to develop, and the resultant debate will continue to surface in unexpected ways.

Societies that wish to protect themselves from outside intrusion, who judge the content of communication on moral or political grounds, will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to isolate themselves from the world with the new technologies. The policy alternatives in communications are becoming more complex, especially for Third World nations. "While these countries need to emphasize self-reliance and independence, and protect themselves against further domination of their economic, social, cultural and political life, they also need to participate in the international exchange of views, knowledge and, indeed, commodities."[82]

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[79] Paul Wallich, "Wire Pirates," *Scientific American*, March 1994, 90.

[80] Mowlana, Global Information, 94.

[81] Juan F. Rada, "The Microelectronics Revolution: Implications for the Third World," in *Information Technology and a New International Order*, Edited by Transnational Data Reporting Service, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (Sweden: Studentlitteratur AB Chartwell-Bratt Ltd., 1984), 66.

One proposed tactic to deal with mass media and other information technologies is complete integration between nations. However this action may have huge social, cultural, or political costs. On the other extreme is a policy of delinkage. Supporters say the Third World needs to build its own "strong, autonomous, information technology infrastructure" and terminate relationships with the dominant northern nations since development policies end up benefiting the North more than the South.[83] The delinkage also implies disassociation from national elites and the promotion of the people through development at local levels and grass roots campaigns.[84] Opponents of delinkage say that such a policy generally has left nations or regions further behind and put them at a disadvantage in the global environment.[85] Another problem with the delinkage strategy is that it has the possibility for a "drastic rise in the level of state supervision and cultural repression."[86]

Technology often has been seen as subversive, since it seems to escape the controls of traditional authorities. In William Hachten's revolutionary theory of the press, authoritarian nations have lost much control of the dissemination of information with the spread of FAX machines, telephones, satellites, video tapes and VCRs, computer networks, copy machines, and self-publishing computers.[87] Such fears seem well-founded since technology has played an important part in opening authoritarian societies. For example, in the Soviet Union a

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[82] Rada, 65.

[83] Cees J. Hamelink, "Information Technology and International Relations: Perspectives for South and North," in *Information Technology and a New International Order*, Edited by Transnational Data Reporting Service, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (Sweden: Studentlitteratur AB Chartwell-Bratt Ltd., 1984), 51.

[84] Colleen Roach, "The movement for a New World Information and Communication Order: a second wave?" *Media, Culture and Society* 12 (July 1990): 303.

[85] Braman, 374-375.

[86] Sparks, 280.

[87] William A. Hachten with Harva Hachten, *The World News Prism*, 3rd ed. (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1992), 33.

Macintosh computer and a copy machine in the hands of Boris Yeltsin and his supporters helped topple the Soviet government. In Iran, the revolution of the Ayatollah Khomeini spread with the use of cassette tapes and copy machines. In Chile, the military government was able to control much of the media between 1973 and 1985. But by the late 1980s, information began to spread in alternative manners, such as with the distribution of video cassettes and opposition magazines. Chile since then has returned to a democracy. But technology does not limit itself to only revolutionary theories or applications. Technology escapes the control of all governments and authorities.

In the same way the Andromeda Strain changed forms faster than the scientists could react to it, technology and communication systems mutate more quickly than governments can react. More and more technology is controlled by individuals, by people who know the software commands, and by those who own the means to communicate or the hardware. One example of the lack of control is in the so-called information superhighway or Internet, which has been called "a 19th century railroad that passes through the badlands of the Old West" because of the problems that have developed and the lack of security.[88]

This change in technology and the resultant information and communication debates can be perceived as chaotic, in the technical sense. Chaotic systems appear to behave in a random fashion, but they actually have an underlying order.

Chaos theory encompasses non-linear behavior, where a change in one element does not necessarily mean a corresponding and equal change in the result. In a non-linear equation, a "small change in one variable can have a disproportional, even catastrophic impact on other variables."[89] When chaotic systems or non-linear equations are plotted, they can form beautiful designs and fractals, such as the famous Mandelbrot and Julia fractals. The weather and most of the natural world can best be described in fractals or non-linear equations. Specific events are unpredictable, but overarching patterns emerge from the chaotic elements. In the same manner, stock markets or economies exhibit chaotic tendencies in that one cannot predict the outcome, but some scientists have found that they tend to follow larger patterns.[90] Chaos theory has been used to model the behavior of weather, city evolution, corporation growth, economies, and computer networks.

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[88] Wallich, 90.

[89] John Briggs and F. David Peat, *Turbulent Mirror: An Illustrated Guide to Chaos Theory and the Science of Wholeness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 24.

In the same manner, chaos theory can be applied to the information debate and changing communication technologies. In such systems, the smallest effect may or may not be magnified to unknown dimensions. The introduction of a new technology can have drastic effects on the politics and culture or it can have a minimal effect. The invention and use of the computer seems to be one such technology that has changed politics, culture, and society around the globe. Moreover, seemingly random behavior such as the free flow of information debates may actually develop a pattern as the debates mutate from one form to another.

Some scientists have attempted to master chaos and control systems that behave chaotically by working with the underlying order of such systems.[91] In much the same manner, nations that are addressing the changing debate on communications and mass media may be able to investigate and locate broad patterns. The underlying order or pattern of communication debates and technology actually might be constant change and escape from authorities' control. If such is the case, policy makers will need to develop flexible communication policies that can cope with further changes.

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[90] Dennis Kneale, "Market Chaos: Scientists Seek Pattern in Stock Prices," *Wall Street Journal*, 17 November 1987, 41.

[91] William L. Ditto and Louis M. Pecora, "Mastering Chaos," *Scientific American*, August 1993, 78.

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Guns or Butter?: Black Press Editorial Policy Toward the Vietnam War

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Guns or Butter? Black Press Editorial Policy Toward the Vietnam War

Abstract

Although black soldiers have participated in every US war since the American Revolution, their defense of a nation that denied them equal rights long has been an issue of contention among black opinion leaders. When the issue arose during the Vietnam War, the debate came at a time when both the role of the black press and goals of black advancement were in question. US military operations in Vietnam divided black opinion leaders as well as the rest of the country. Black soldiers were gaining commendation as they fought in fully integrated units for the first time, but their high casualty rates were disproportionate to their numbers in uniform. Demonstrations and at home were helping to extend full legal rights to all citizens, but some civil rights leaders were charging the United States with imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnam War era was a time of challenges to the leadership role of the black press. Black newspapers were facing charges of complacency from "black power" advocates and were losing readers and reporters to the white-owned press recently engaged in full coverage of racial issues. The newspapers, however, continued to take editorial stands on issues such as the strategy of the civil rights movement and the impact of the Vietnam War on black Americans. Editorial stands on the Vietnam War during the years of the Johnson administration are of particular interest because of black newspapers' support of Johnson's civil rights leadership. Black newspapers also had to weigh their support for Johnson against their support for Martin Luther King, Jr., whose opposition to the war brought him into conflict with the president.

A review of editorials and editorial cartoons in national black newspapers between 1963 and 1968 found predominant editorial topics in these newspapers were conflict between black military service abroad and opportunities and rights at home, whether funding of the war reduced support for domestic programs to the detriment of black Americans, and whether war issues diverted attention from the civil rights movement. Black newspapers' editorials reflected a diversity of opinions inconsistent with previous views of a singular black perspective on political issues. The editorials also illustrated divisions about goals of the civil rights movement.

Guns or Butter?: Black Press Editorial Policy Toward the Vietnam War

Although black soldiers have participated in every US war since the American Revolution, their defense of a nation that denied them equal rights long has been an issue of contention among black opinion leaders. Black newspapers even debated the question at the turn of the century during American military involvement in the Philippine "insurrection." [1] When the issue arose during the Vietnam War, the debate came at a time when both the role of the black press and goals of black advancement were in question.

US military operations in Vietnam divided black opinion leaders as well as the rest of the country. Black soldiers were gaining commendation as they fought in fully integrated units for the first time, but their high casualty rates were disproportionate to their numbers in uniform. Demonstrations at home were helping to extend full legal rights to all citizens, but some civil rights leaders were charging the United States with imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnam War era was a time of challenges to the leadership role of the black press. Black newspapers had reached their highest circulation in 1947 after waging editorial battles during World War II for fair treatment of soldiers in segregated military units and for winning democracy at home as well as abroad. [2] The newspapers had survived allegations of sedition that resulted from their journalistic zeal. [3] By the 1960s, black newspapers were facing charges of complacency from "black power" advocates and were losing readers and reporters to the white-owned press recently engaged in full coverage of racial issues. "What is left for the Negro press?" Newsweek asked in August 1963 . "It is now the society pages, the obituaries, and the inevitable classified ads that continue to draw readers to the Negro press." [4]

Despite Newsweek's dismissal of the black press as "a victim of Negro progress," [5] the newspapers continued to take editorial stands on issues such as the strategy of the civil rights movement and the impact of the Vietnam War on black Americans. Editorial stands on the Vietnam War during the years of the Johnson administration are of particular interest because of black newspapers' support of Johnson's civil rights leadership. Black newspapers also had to weigh their support for Johnson with support for Martin Luther King, Jr., whose opposition to the Vietnam War brought him into conflict with the president.

This paper examines the editorials and editorial cartoons in national black newspapers between 1963 and 1968 to assess their editorial policies toward the Vietnam War when the Johnson administration was in office. After the inauguration of Richard Nixon in 1969, the national black newspapers joined growing public opposition to the war in Asia. The paper also analyzes editorial stands of the national black press toward the Vietnam War in the context of previous studies of black newspapers' editorial policies. Newspapers with national circulation under review included the Afro-American, with headquarters in Baltimore, the Chicago Defender, and the Pittsburgh Courier. The Afro-American consistently criticized US war policy. The Courier was an early critic of the war, but after Sengstacke Publications purchased the newspaper in 1966, its editorials generally supported the war as did the editorials of its sister publication, the Defender. After 1966, the Courier and the Defender kept separate operations.

Predominant editorial topics in these newspapers during this period were conflict between black military service abroad and opportunities and rights at home, whether funding of the war reduced support for domestic programs to the detriment of black Americans, and whether war issues diverted attention from the civil rights movement. Black newspapers' editorial stands on the Vietnam War have received little scholarly attention, but they reflect a diversity of opinions inconsistent with previous views of a singular black perspective on political issues. The editorial stands also help to illustrate divisions about goals and leadership of the civil rights movement.

The black press

Despite some general reviews of the state of the black press,[6] analyses of black newspapers' editorial policies and of the black press itself are few, particularly in regard to the period surrounding the Southern civil rights movement and the Vietnam War.[7] Analysis of the role of the black press came in only one[8] of two contemporaneous studies of the relationship between the media and the civil rights movement. The other study included a brief discussion of Vietnam War issues.[9] Limited analysis of black newspapers' editorial policies have centered on the unity of black opinion, the focus of black newspapers on racial issues, how well the newspapers represent all black Americans, and classification of their ideologies.

Researchers disagree about the unity of black opinion. Political scientist Harold M. Barger supported the notion of "a relatively homogenous black perspective" in a 1973 study of "images of political authority." [10] In a content analysis of community weeklies, urban weeklies, organization weeklies, and the militant ideological press during 1969 and 1970, Barger said he found substantial evidence that blacks have similar political orientations regardless of class or education and their orientations differ from those of whites. "There may be, in other words, a black perspective on politics that exists in and of itself." [11]

Historians , however, have found diverse opinions in black newspapers. Lee Finkle, who studied the role of black newspapers during World II, said in including "all shades of opinion, the black feature page was unequaled by most white journals during World War II." [12] Charlotte G. O'Kelly said the black press forum during World War II "far surpassed the white papers as a vehicle for differing opinions. Widely different stances were given attention and lively debates often ensued within the papers themselves." [13] O'Kelly said all the viewpoints did include an underlying opposition to discrimination against blacks. [14]

Readers of black newspapers can expect to find a focus on racial news. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton in a 1945 study of the Chicago Defender said black newspapers had the dual function of reporting the news and promoting racial solidarity along with making money. [15] Drake and Cayton explained "race-angling" of news as not only covering issues and events of interest to blacks but also covering only those aspects of general issues and events that involved blacks. [16] Henry Lee Moon, a NAACP spokesman, told a 1967 conference on the media and civil rights that black newspapers were advocates and not objective reporters of the news. [17] "Their stories are unabashedly angled to the interests of their readers. This is what the readers of this press expect and what they cannot expect to get from even the most sympathetic and liberal white media." [18] In a 1978 study of "race advocacy," T. Ella Strother conducted a content analysis of copies of the Chicago Defender from different eras to examine the importance of personalities rather than issues or events in reporting of news. Strother said that since the white media generally have ignored blacks, "the black press has developed a race-consciousness designed to present blacks' viewpoints, aspirations, and struggles in a positive way." [19]

Researchers have differed, however, on how well the black press represents all aspects of black life. Critics of the black press have indicated both that sensational coverage of crime has not portrayed blacks in a good light [20] and that the newspapers have focused too intently on middle-class interests. [21] A 1959 content analysis of the black press indicated that black newspapers reflected white middle-class values. [22] A 1973 study of black newspapers, however, indicated a generally negative perspective on political authority and "nearly universal skepticism in the black community of what it perceived to be the white power structure." [23] Historian O'Kelly argued in 1977 that most critics of the middle-class orientation of the black press "have based their conclusions, not on a range of black publications, but upon Ebony and other similar black magazines which are better known to the white public than are any other black media." [24] Strother also argued that despite the apparent conservatism of black newspapers in the 1960s, the newspapers covered radical or revolutionary civil rights leaders and issues during the period.[25]

Efforts to classify black newspapers themselves as "conservative," radical," or "militant" have generated debate. O'Kelly said efforts to classify ideologies of black newspapers may depend more on the perspective of the researcher than the nature of the research subject. [26] She asserted that an appropriate question for evaluation is whether the black press is "reformist," trying to change the system, or "revolutionary," trying to replace the system. [27]

A 1959 content analysis of the black press came as result of charges that the black press showed subversive tendencies. Sociologist Maxwell R. Brooks's research found that the black press "represented the American Tradition." [28] Brooks examined five black newspapers with national circulation to determine if the newspapers contained recognizable symbols that represent American political ideas. [29] Brooks found support for American ideals but dissatisfaction with second-class citizenship: "Editorial comment is very favorable to the American people, and to American ideals, but registers sharp disapproval of America as a social system." [30]

Despite assertions that the black press was militant or radical because of its challenges to segregation, Brooks asserted that such criticism was unwarranted in light of the American tradition of free criticism and reform. "Social reform and the idea of progress are complementary, and social reformers have played a significant role in the realization of the ideal." [31] Brooks said black newspapers generally were conservative on issues other than racial democracy:

> Negro newspapers reflect an unquestioned acceptance of the prevailing middle-class mores and values. Their criticism is directed against barriers that tend to restrict the Negro's participation in the social order, rather than against the nature of the social order itself. [32]

Roots of unrest

Political turmoil in the 1960s brought several challenges to the social order including civil rights demonstrations and anti-war protests. Histories of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War provide several convenient benchmark years to frame analysis of their relationship. In 1954, France agreed to end hostilities with the forces of Ho Chi Minh after the fall of Dien Bien Phu in 1953. A treaty partitioned Vietnam, pending national elections that never came. The United States, which supported France in the Indochina war, sought to contain Communist influence to North Vietnam amid Cold War pressures of the era. As a result, the United States did not sign the Geneva Accord on Indochina that year. Across the Pacific, the US Supreme Court had issued the Brown v. Board of Education that helped propel the Southern civil rights movement. The Brown decision brought the authority of the Supreme Court and the federal government into the on-going battle to remove barriers to full legal rights for black Americans.

By 1963, the Southern civil rights movement had achieved victory in the Montgomery bus boycott, established Martin Luther King Jr. as a national spokesman for the movement, and pushed for changes in public accommodation laws through "sit-ins" and "freedom rides." The movement had attracted the attention of the world with mass demonstrations that brought violent police reaction in Birmingham, a march of 250,000 civil rights supporters on Washington, and the oratory of King in his "I Have A Dream" speech. While the Kennedy administration attempted to deal with the domestic turmoil, political and military conditions in Vietnam worsened. The National Liberation Front, with the support of North Vietnam, was building its military campaign to overthrow the Diem regime in South Vietnam and oust the US military presence. A coup, with US support, in early November ousted the Diem regime. Within a few days of the coup, an assassin's bullet in Dallas would bring Lyndon Johnson to the presidency and to leadership roles both in the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement.

The circumstances of Kennedy's death, Johnson's leadership, and public reaction to civil rights protests helped to push Congress to enact the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that provided for open accommodations. Among guests at the bill signing was King, who campaigned for Johnson in his bid to win a full term. [33] A landslide carried Johnson back to the White House, and King received more acclaim as he won the Nobel Peace Prize. Events in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964, however, helped set a course that put Johnson and King at odds. In response to alleged provocation of the North Vietnamese navy in the Gulf of Tonkin, Congress approved a resolution to give Johnson almost unlimited authority to conduct military operations in Vietnam. [34]

Attention to the Vietnam War in the editorial pages of the national black newspapers began after the House and Senate approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in August 1964, but the focus of that attention was the presidential race between Johnson and Republican Barry Goldwater. Despite early misgivings about Johnson's Southern heritage, the black press described the president as, at least, progressive. [35] The Defender contended in August 1964 that the election should hinge not on foreign policy but on civil rights issues. [36]

A Defender editorial that month also said disparate events in the Gulf of Tonkin and in Mississippi might undermine Johnson's candidacy. While the Vietnamese conflict might make Johnson vulnerable to foreign policy criticism, the newspaper said demonstrations in reaction to the murder of three civil rights workers could generate more white support for Goldwater. [37] Both the Defender and Courier questioned use of demonstrations as a civil rights tactic because of negative images of blacks that might result and the related concern about "white backlash" in political races. The Defender described demonstrations as "an unfortunate handicap in the present pattern of our struggles," [38] and the Courier said protests were "dubious and dangerous to the Negro's future in America." [39] Leaders of several civil rights organizations agreed to a moratorium on demonstrations before the election to promote Johnson's candidacy and limit "white backlash," but leaders of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) opposed the proposal. [40]

Another Defender editorial in August said the election would bring full debate on war and civil rights issues. The newspaper also said the president needed black support. "Mr. Johnson may emerge out of these crucibles of the campaign unscarred and victorious, not however without our support and the full support of all who believe in freedom and democracy." [41]

Johnson's landslide victory failed to convince the Afro-American of the correctness of US policy toward Asia and particularly Vietnam. In a December 1964 editorial, the newspaper challenged contentions that "civilization" was a criterion for membership in the United Nations. The Afro-American questioned whether the United States could qualify with "the horrible atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the most recent barbarous treatment accorded citizens of color in the old plantation states." [42] The Courier in January 1965 indicated that the military situation in South Vietnam might require a Goldwater rather than a Johnson: "It would be very wonderful if he (Goldwater) or anybody else could find a way to bring the boys back home and save all that money we've been spending on that benighted Southeast Asian country." [43] The newspaper questioned whether US policy in Vietnam would be successful short of starting World War III. "It therefore makes no sense for us to continue to send men and money to South Vietnam. The wise thing to do would be to find some face-saving way to get out – yesterday." [44]

1965

For civil rights leaders, 1965 was a pivotal year for media attention and public opinion. As the United States began a massive build-up of military forces in Vietnam, the Southern civil rights movement won its final major victory in Selma, Alabama. [45] After an attack on US forces in Pleiku, Johnson ordered bombing of North Vietnam and more forces to South Vietnam. A voter registration drive in Selma brought dramatic television images as law enforcement officers on horseback and with tear gas dispersed marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. Public reaction to the violent scenes included an influx of civil rights supporters to Selma, two more marches, and congressional attention to a voting rights bill. Johnson may have sealed his place in the history of the civil rights movement when in his speech in support of the voting rights bill he repeatedly used the slogan of the movement, "We Shall Overcome." [46]

As Johnson ordered bombing of North Vietnam, the Defender in March 1965 called for more information about the war. [47] "[O]n the whole the American people have not yet been told the full story about why we are involved in that corner of Southeast Asia." [48] The Defender joined the Courier in questioning possible escalation of the Asian conflict into World War III. [49] The Defender later in March declared that black Americans had a stake in the war, particularly with the service of black soldiers in the conflict. The newspaper also declared it loyalty despite any reservations about the conflict. "For all that, we take our stand beside Uncle Sam." [50]

The National Newspaper Publishers Association, a black publishers group, honored Courier political cartoonist Sam Milai for his May 1965 cartoon that showed a modern black soldier in a cemetery with crosses representing service in past wars. In the background was Crispus Attucks, a black victim of the Boston Massacre, telling the soldier to "Carry on Brother!" [51]

Johnson in July 1965 announced more military build-ups in Vietnam, and the Defender in July used a syndicated political cartoon to show a besieged president. LBJ was a tree growing out of the United States and the globe. At one side was Vietnam and on the other side was the Dominican Republic, to which US troops had gone to intervene in a civil war. Lightning bolts of "appeasers," "home front," "liberals," "conservatives," and "critics" were striking the tree. [52]

By July 1965, the Courier was expressing concern that national interest in the civil rights movement was waning as "news media have turned their attention to Vietnam and the Dominican Republic." [53] The Defender during the same week renewed its concern about possible escalation of the Vietnam conflict to a world war . "The seeds of a third world conflagration are being dangerously sown in Vietnam." [54] The newspaper praised a peace mission from the British Commonwealth and noted that a majority of its members were black heads of state. [55]

Although the newspaper supported the Commonwealth peace efforts, it did not support anti-war protests. On an adjacent page, a syndicated cartoon showed a goateed anti-war demonstrator carrying a sign, "Critics of US Policy," as Chinese leader Mao-Tse-Tung stood in front of his business, Communism Inc., and beside a casket, Southeast Asia. Mao was looking toward the protester and saying, "Him velly good for business." [56]

The Defender continued criticism of anti-war protests in an editorial later in July. The newspaper justified US policy in Vietnam on the basis of Communist aggression against South Vietnam. [57] "And what's more, American must honor her commitments if she is to justify her claim to world leadership." [58] The Defender said US policy should contain but not isolate China. The Defender reinforced its editorial with a syndicated political cartoon that showed Mao-Tse-Tung using the anvil of Vietnam to forge control of Southeast Asia. [59]

Despite support for US policy in the Vietnam, the Defender in September 1965 noted questions about funding of foreign and domestic programs. A syndicated cartoon showed a candle with wicks burning on both ends on the top of the Capitol. One end of the candle was "Vietnam" and on the other end was "Great Society." The cartoon asked, "Can You?" [60]

Martin Luther King, Jr. in August 1965 urged talks on the Vietnam War and offered to serve as a mediator. The Defender subsequently used a syndicated cartoon that showed protesters with signs, "Pull Out of Vietnam" and "Defend Freedom With Non-Violence," buffeting Uncle Sam. The cartoon's caption noted that "With Such Friends He Doesn't Need Enemies." [61] King met with UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg in September and agreed to end his peace bid in early October. Johnson arranged the meeting between Goldberg, King, and other civil rights leaders, but King's remarks about recognition of Communist China at a subsequent press conference created more tension between the president and the civil rights leader. [62]

The Defender in October 1965 supported King's right as an individual to oppose US policy in Vietnam, but the newspaper questioned whether the civil rights movement should be involved in the Vietnam debate. "For the civil rights movement, as an entity, to veer toward the crisis in Vietnam would result in much needed energy being siphoned away from our main objective." [63] The editorial noted opposition to the Vietnam War in Congress and on college campuses and said individual members of the civil rights movement should have no less of a right of dissent. The Defender questioned why Sen. Jacob Javits of New York had criticized King for his views:

> Such a limitation places a second-class citizen tag on the Negro. The Senator is not alone in this narrow conceptual rendering of full citizenship. A great many white liberals entertain the same thought about the Negro." [64]

Despite support for dissent, the Defender continued to needle white anti-war protesters. A syndicated cartoon later in October 1965 showed a volcanic eruption of rising support for US policies in Vietnam." The eruption had catapulted into the air a goateed demonstrator with anti-war protest signs. On an adjacent hill, a Mao-like figure used binoculars to watch the scene. [65]

Courier cartoonist Milai at the end of October showed Johnson back at work after surgery. He depicted the president as a cowboy "back in the saddle" atop a bucking bronco. In the dust below him were "Vietnam", "civil rights," "Red China," "Viet Cong," and "anti-draft protests." [66]

The Courier, as the Defender had earlier, questioned in November 1965 the amount of information available about war policy. "Much of us know so little about the situation that we have hardly earned the right to say what we should do to end the conflict." [67] The newspaper, however, opposed calls for unilateral US action to end the war. [68] Anti-war protesters found themselves in the company of the Ku Klux Klan and the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a black group that formed in Louisiana to provide armed defense for civil rights workers, in a Courier cartoon in November 1965. Cartoonist Milai had the press pouring hot water into a tub of public opinion as a Deacon, an anti-war protester, and a Klansman perspired. [69]

Despite protests and unrest at home, cartoons early in the war showed a much different scene in Vietnam. A December 1965 cartoon in the Courier offered a "Question from Vietnam." A black soldier and a white soldier in Vietnam looked back home with prejudice, race hatred, and violence rising about a city. "One soldier asked the other. "How come those jokers can't get together? We do." [70]

1966

Efforts of King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to move their strategy of mass demonstrations north to Chicago in 1966 failed to win them the national support that they had received in their Southern initiatives. [71] Conflicts between the direct action tactics of the SCLC and the legal action tactics of the older civil rights organizations, the NAACP and the National Urban League, continued as calls for "black power" and militancy challenged both approaches to the civil rights movement. New leadership of the SNCC and CORE, established to promote non-violent action in 1942, brought calls for militant "black power" into the national debate. [72] SNCC leaders also began questioning the role of black Americans in military action against other people of color in Southeast Asia. [73] Although King publicly had questioned US policy in Vietnam as early as 1965, the SCLC board in 1966 went on record against the war. [74]

Although SNCC condemned US policy in Vietnam in January 1966, a subsequent Courier cartoon showed a must different image of Johnson as commander-in-chief. The "approved portrait" by "Negro America" showed Johnson in dress uniform. His combat ribbons included the "1964 Civil Rights Act," "1965 Civil [Voting] Rights Act, "Anti-Poverty Program," "Negro to US Supreme Court," and "The Great Society." [75] Within a week, however, the Afro-American questioned Johnson's funding priorities. Staff cartoonist Thomas Stockett showed LBJ carving a turkey. On one side of the table was a small child, the poverty program, with a scrap on his plate. On the other side was a large Mao-type character, the Vietnam War, gorging himself. Johnson told the child: "Just a moment, son, big brother has to be first." [76]

An accompanying editorial questioned political bickering and partisan politics that diminished hopes for the "Great Society." Along with politicians who wanted to defend the status quo, the war was bringing cutbacks in funding: "No matter how long and how strenuously the administration defends the priority of Vietnam, the feeling will still persist in the ghetto, that another promise has been broken, and that it was foolish to hope in the first place." [77] The Defender dealt with the issue that week in a somewhat more gentle manner. A syndicated cartoon that showed LBJ as a physician giving a check-up to the federal budget with the Great Society as the thermometer and chest thumps for Vietnam. [78]

Courier cartoonist Milai linked images of the war and home front for black and white soldiers with cartoons in late January and early February 1966. Racial deaths in Alabama and

Mississippi brought questions about war on the "second front," the United States. [79] A cartoon on "Dreams of the Future" showed a white soldier with thoughts of security, a nice house, and promotions on his return home. A black soldier had only a question mark in this mind. [80]

The Defender used syndicated cartoons from Albert J. Buescher in January and February to show continued opposition to anti-war demonstrators but growing concern about funding for the "Great Society" in light of war expenses. A platform of "free speech" transformed "pacifist-fellow travelers" into a "distorted picture" of "Anti-US Vietnam Policy" for Ho Chi Minh and Mao-Tse-Tung to observe. [81] Another cartoon showed Johnson with a $112.8 billion budget machine that contained both the Vietnam War and the Great Society. A "tax boost" oil can sat near the machine. The cartoon asked, "It'll Come Out Even?" [82] A similar cartoon showed LBJ with a $12.8 million measuring tape for Vietnam. A man with a Congress jacket held a shovel, and a Great Society lunch box was on a rock. LBJ told the congressman, "Dig, man!" [83]

The decision of the Georgia legislature not to seat newly elected Rep. Julian Bond brought support for his right of dissent from the Courier in February 1966. The editorial backed US policy in Vietnam but said the issue of Julian Bond was not one of foreign policy: "Mr. Bond is a Negro and they wanted him out. As an excuse Vietnam was a godsend." [84] The Courier said most Negroes supported US policy in Vietnam and advised black leaders including King not to neglect the civil rights movement. "In spite of the fact that so many Negroes are being appointed to high positions today the position of the Negro masses is still very bad. There's a vast amount of poverty. And the attention of civil rights leaders should be centered on that." [85]

The Courier and Defender in February 1966 offered Johnson more support. A syndicated cartoon in the Defender portrayed LBJ as single-handedly searching through a haystack for peace while "Hanoi" and "Peking" sat under a tree. [86] The Courier's Milai was more direct with his cartoon, "When a feller needs a friend." A pensive Johnson sat in a chair. On one side was a cloud of criticism over falling bombs. Behind the chair were a black soldier and a black civilian, who was holding books on "civil rights legislation," "important Negro appointments," and "justice for all." The black civilian told Johnson: "We're with you, chief." [87]

A March 1966 cartoon in the Defender showed "the left" biting at the ankle of LBJ and US policy in Vietnam. Also chasing the ankle were "Peace at any Price," "The Right," "Critics," Escalation," and "Pull Back." [88] The Defender continued its support for the war with a subsequent editorial that praised hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for more information about the war and challenged criticism of the of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. The editorial noted the sacrifices of black soldiers for the war:

> While the Negro press hasn't been too articulate on the Asian issue, and Negro leadership, with the exception of Dr. Martin Luther King, too timid to give vent to its true feeling in the matter, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Negro masses are indifferent to the course US foreign policy is pursuing in Vietnam. After all, Negro soldiers represent a substantial percentage of the US combat forces in the theater of war where Negro casualties are reported to be proportionately high." [89]

In April 1966, the SCLC asked the United States to withdraw from Vietnam, and concern about the high casualty rate for black soldiers continued. A May cartoon in the Courier showed "Death" with a shroud of "lack of educational opportunities" digging graves in Vietnam. [90] A Courier editorial said a Pentagon spokesman had explained that the casualty rate was not a result of discrimination in battle assignments but perhaps was "a measure of Negro valer in combat." [91] The editorial said the death rate should be a warning that "Negrophobes should think twice about denying Negroes the full rights of American citizenship guaranteed under the Constitution." [92]

The Defender and the Afro-American also noted the discrepancies between defense of the United States and rights at home. Each in the summer of 1966 published a cartoon titled "Letter from Home." The syndicated cartoon in the Defender showed a black soldier reading a letter about the shooting death of his brother with the advice that "You are safer in Vietnam than you are here at home." [93] The Afro-American reprinted a cartoon from the New York Post. A black soldier read: "Dear Son, Dad was put in the hospital trying to vote in Mississippi." [94]

Despite these questions about casualty rates of black soldiers and rights on the home front. the Defender continued to support Johnson with portrayals of the president as a "rugged individualist." In the "Lone Ranger," a cartoon depicted Johnson as prospector with his pack mule carrying "Civil Rights," "Great Society," "War on Poverty," and "Vietnam." [95] In "Get the

Message," LBJ was using a jack to escalate military action in Vietnam. "Hanoi" was on top of the jack with a bloody sword. A dove of peace was flying above "Hanoi." [96]

The Courier' depicted King as a "dove" in a July cartoon about divisions in the civil rights movement. With representatives of SNCC, CORE, the NAACP , and SCLC around a pot, the caption was that "Too Many Cooks Ruin the Broth." King of the SCLC held olive branches. [97]

A Defender cartoon in September 1966 returned to the notion of a distorted image. LBJ stood in a spotlight that the "press" was operating. The spotlight included Vietnam, civil rights, inflation, and strikes, and the resulting shadow was the president's image. The caption was "Wrong Angle!" [98] The Defender also supported Johnson in an October editorial on a conference in the Philippines on Vietnam policy. The editorial contended that no president could negotiate the United States out of the war because of the intransigence of the Communists. The newspaper said every American politician was "stuck with the war." [99] The Defender continued support for Johnson with an October cartoon that showed the president building a tower "Dedicated to Peace and the Dignity of Man." His critics, the "kibitzers," were sitting at a table to the side. [100]

By the end of 1966, however, the Courier and the Afro-American had varying degrees of reservations about the war. The Courier in November raised the issue of the Vietnam conflict as a racial war:

> We've noticed that the news media in this country, which of course is white (as if you didn't know), has played up every reason for the difficulties America is encountering in Vietnam, but the major one, in our opinion. And the major one is color." [101]

Afro-American cartoonist Stockett showed black soldiers helping a wounded South Vietnamese peasant and asking, "I wonder who's protecting our castles." [102] The newspaper's New Year's cartoon for Dec. 31, 1966 called for an end to "mass slaughter in Vietnam." [103]

1967

As 1967 began, the image of Johnson as the "Lone Ranger" returned. Prospector LBJ was putting his finger in the air to check the political breeze. On his pack mule were the Vietnam War and the Great Society. Behind a rock was a GOP elephant with a "Toward 68" sign. [104]

As King in February 1967 delivered in Los Angeles his first public speech attacking US policy in Vietnam, even the Defender acknowledged the deep divisions from the war: "Our government for the first time in history is confronted with a disunited home front in a war which can hardly be defended on the basis of national peril." [105]

Inequities of black military service were the subject of March 1967 editorials in the Afro-American and the Defender. The Afro-American noted the high casualty for black servicemen. "Grim confirmation of the gnawing suspicion that the Vietnam combat death rate of colored Americans was proportionately greater than it was for other Americans came last week." [106] The Defender noted that re-enlistment of blacks was "higher because of economic deprivation otherwise." [107] The newspaper said the black soldier was "giving his all in the Viet war in the hope of coming home to a better and more civilized America." [108]

The Defender continued to back Johnson even as Sen. Robert F. Kennedy added his voice to criticism of Vietnam policy. A March 1967 cartoon showed LBJ as a pilot flying through the flak of "suspend the bombing." A shell with "Bobby's verbal blasts" was ripping through the cockpit. An early April cartoon showed Kennedy a on park bench surrounded by pages of litter with "peace feelers," "negotiate," "Vietnam," and "suspend the bombing" written on them. LBJ was trying to police the area and offered a warning, "Don't Litter." [109]

In April 1967, King delivered a major address against the war, effectively severed any ties with Johnson and turned the black newspapers' attention away from Kennedy. King's comparisons of the US military role in Asia to Nazi atrocities in World War II [110] brought immediate rebuffs from media opponents of the war and from his fellow civil rights activists. [111]

The Afro-American provided the first national black press reaction to the speech April 8 but used the opportunity to criticize the decision of Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke to oppose the war rather than to question King's remarks. The newspaper noted that Brooke's decision was good for Johnson. "That his change of view came on the same day Dr. Martin Luther King was denouncing the war as 'a blasphemy against all that America stands for' was truly a stroke of good timing for the President." [112]

The Afro-American said Brooke had diverted attention from King's criticism of the war and Kennedy's opposition and "gives the president a helping hand in the delicate area of race relations, since there is widespread belief in our community that it has been called upon to make proportionately greater sacrifices than the white." [113] An accompanying cartoon showed a small child with a platter of "Great Society" programs. A large warrior, the Vietnam War, with a pile of money on his tray was reaching for more money. "You'll Have To Pardon My Long Reach, Bud," the warrior told the child. [114]

The Defender and Courier did not respond immediately to King's speech. The Defender published the week of April 8 a syndicated cartoon that showed a pit with "Ho's rejection of LBJ's appeal for peace" and a sign, "Critics of LBJ's Vietnam policy," in it. The caption was "'ell of a 'ole." [115] The Courier's editorial cartoon and editorial April 15 took somewhat different views on the issue of King's war opposition. The cartoon, "Draining the Barrel," depicted King asking Uncle Sam to "Hold it!" as Uncle Sam drained the last drops from "Funds for Domestic Programs for Fighting Poverty and Segregation" into his hat, the Vietnam War. [116] The editorial, however, addressed "Dr. King's Tragic Doctrine." [117]

The editorial praised King for his leadership in the civil rights movement, but in the context of foreign policy, "Dr. King is tragically preaching the wrong doctrine." [118] The Courier said King should not seek unilateral US action to end the war and noted Brooke's change of heart after a visit to the war zone. [119] While the newspaper defended King's individual right to express his views on foreign policy, the editorial said King's prominence might wrongly indicate to some that he spoke for most blacks. "We believe Dr. King is sincere, but at the same time, we say that he does not speak for all Negro America and besides he is tragically misleading them." [120]

The Defender joined the fray in an editorial the next week. The newspaper also praised King's leadership but questioned his linking of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War:

> As rational and perceptive a mentality as Dr. King unquestionably possesses, it is difficult to believe that he cannot assess the glaring incompatibility between two vastly disparate issues: civil rights and civil war. Perhaps he is driven by a hallucination of an America freed from the evils of poverty and inequality and blessed with all attributes of a perfect social order. [121]

The Defender also challenged King's perception of his mission. "His business is not to change America but to solve the problems of living in it and save the blacks masses from prejudice and unwarranted discrimination." [122] The newspaper said participation in the anti-war movement could dissipate energies for the civil rights movement which was unfinished and King's appropriate mission was political action for blacks:

> Making the Negro masses realize that their complete freedom and ultimate salvation lie in the intelligent use of the ballot is the task to which Dr. King might devote his rhetorical talent, his tireless energy and persuasive reasoning. [123]

Despite these harsh words from the Courier and the Defender, the Afro-American attempted to downplay any divisions in the civil rights movement. "[T]here can be no doubt that the common goal of all conscientious leaders is the same the same – the attainment of equal social, educational and economic opportunities." [124] The Defender and the Courier however, continued to question King's action. A syndicated cartoon in the Defender showed King, with a peace movement sign, thumbing a ride. To one side was a car, the civil rights movement, and on the side was Stokely Carmichael of SNCC with a "extremism" bomb in his hand. The caption was "Going My Way." [125] Cartoonist Milai of the Courier showed a "shrinking image." A black newsman and black soldier watched a miniature King carry protest signs. [126]

The Afro-American charged May 20 that Republicans and Dixiecrats were trying to use anti-war statements from King and "black power" advocates to scuttle Great Society programs. The editorial also said Congress was using the cost of the war to neglect funding for the programs. King received praise for airing the problem: "This is the fear that Dr. King has been expressing for some time, and it is clear that he has had the aims of the politicians in positive perspective all the time.[127] The Defender that week again criticized anti-war protests. A cartoon showed a "rubbish" can filled with anti-war protest signs. [128]

Within a week, however, the Defender was questioning the disproportionately high death rate of blacks servicemen in Vietnam and discrimination at home. While the newspaper noted the sacrifice necessary for patriotism, the editorial cited discrimination on draft boards that were sending black men to fight and in housing for soldiers and their families. "The bullets in Vietnam know no color line. The packs on the backs of Negro soldiers are just a heavy as those on the backs of white soldiers, but the burden at home for the Negro people is heavier." [129]

The Courier in May returned to King's opposition to the war. The newspaper again questioned the impact of King's anti-war statements because of his prominence in the civil rights movement. "Our criticism of Dr. King is specifically because he has mixed the matter of civil rights with the complex and confusing issue of foreign policy. And in so doing, he has caused some damage to the former, where the issue is so clear against the fuzziness of the latter." [130]

The Defender in May, however, addressed the issue of funding priorities. In a cartoon titled "Escalation," LBJ was a boxer beating on a rather bedraggled-looking Ho Chi Minh. In the corner were "reds," and tapping on Johnson's shoulder was a large pugilist, "poverty." [131] The Afro-American that week was noting "Hectic Days at the White House." As Johnson with binoculars was watching the clouds of "Arab-Israeli Tensions," newspapers on his desk bannered "Long Hot Summer Predicted," "Draft Refusals Mount," "Vietnam Death Rate Rises," "Civil Rights Leaders Hit War Cost," and "King Joins Vietnam Protests." [132]

The summer of 1967 brought increased concern about home front conditions for returning black soldiers and more questions about King's anti-war stance. The Afro-American in June noted that "considering the high degree of combat housing and fighting togetherness in Vietnam which cause no difficulty, it is shocking and shameful that form of indignity and humiliation persists at home." [133] The newspaper indicated that with the high death rate for black soldiers, returning servicemen would be in no mood for the status quo: "Hatchet-wielding members of the 90th Congress so busy cutting appropriations for Great Society programs such as the war on poverty, housing, demonstration cities and rent supplements, would be wise to take note." [134]

The Courier continued to criticize King for his anti-war stance – a cartoon showed King riding an "anti-war" escalator as civil rights documents fell out of his briefcase [135] – but the newspaper supported a general right of dissent. An editorial said debate on bombing of North Vietnam was appropriate. "It is a sign of national strength that these issues can be aired. We shall be an enfeebled country only when we conclude that the time for suppression of dissent is at hand." [136] The Courier offered a different image of war critic King in August 1967. A staff-drawn cartoon indicated "his status looms larger and larger." The cartoon showed a pensive King with thoughts that "Vietnam War unjust, brutal, wasteful in lives and money," "US symbol of violence and undisciplined power," and "social programs neglected." The cartoon indicated that King's anti-war comments had been "reiterated by some Congressmen and some senators." [137] The Afro-American continued to support King:

> As the weeks and months march on, our national memory recalls the early prophetic warnings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. that for the Johnson Administration to believe it could wage the Vietnam War on one hand and the domestic war on the other was pure delusion and fantasy." [138]

The Afro-American also supported Johnson. A September 1967 cartoon showed the president with an ax in front of a row of trees. The sun, the "1968 elections, "was shining. The trees included "white backlash," "Vietnam," "new taxes," "black power," "civil rights," "riots," and "payment balances." Johnson said, "There's still time if we keep working on all of them." [139] In a similar vein, the Defender in October depicted LBJ as a sheriff in a showdown with the "bad guys," war critics, inflation, and budget. [140] The Afro-American praised Johnson in November for repudiation of the notion that the United States was engaged in a race war in Indochina to contain China. The newspaper criticized "black power disciples who have been leaders of the false outcry that the Vietnam conflict for some unexplainable reason was a race war." [141]

The Afro-American indicated in December that despite editorial criticism of the US war policy, the newspaper supported the president since he "has chosen the lonely course of pursuing political righteousness." The editorial criticized the "open season" against the president. "Brickbat throwers notwithstanding, we take our stand with LBJ." [142]

1968

Diverse events in 1968 removed both King and Johnson from the national scene. The Tet offensive in January 1968 resulted in a military defeat for the North Vietnamese but was a turning point for US public support of the war. In March, Johnson surprised the nation when he announced that he would not seek re-election. In August, King went to Memphis to support striking sanitation workers, but his assassination ended both his civil rights leadership and his efforts to end US involvement in the Vietnam War.

King's assassination helped to win congressional approval of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which provided for open housing, but his death also removed the most widely recognized spokesman for civil rights and the center of much of the organization of the movement. Republican Richard Nixon won the presidency in November 1968 and the responsibility for the conduct of the war in Southeast Asia. Johnson retired to his ranch in Texas.

After the Tet Offensive in January 1968, Johnson faced increasing pressures of public opinion, and the Courier in February attempted to provide some historical perspective. A cartoon showed the "American Negro" in front of portraits of Abraham Lincoln and Johnson. "You started it Mr. Lincoln, but here's the man who really had done things about it." [143]

Johnson's decision in March not to seek re-election brought more praise. The Courier said other officials could not provide better leadership for the Vietnam War and blamed Congress for funding cuts for the Great Society. The newspaper extolled Johnson's civil rights leadership:

> So far as the American black man is concerned, Johnson is the greatest president who has ever occupied the White House. He is greater than Lincoln. The freeing of the slaves by the Civil War President was the result of political pressure which Lincoln could not escape. He was more interested in the preservation of the Union than in freedom for the black slaves. [144]

Cease-fire

The war in Southeast Asia continued for five more years as opposition continued to grow throughout the country. Peace negotiations in Paris brought a cease-fire in April 1973. Although conduct of the Vietnam conflict generally stood as a measure of Johnson's presidency, the national black press refused to let the war policies overshadow Johnson's leadership in the civil rights movement. During the course of the Johnson administration, black newspapers tried to distinguish between support for the president's domestic policies and their views of war issues.

By a year after the Richard Nixon's election, the Courier had ended support for the war. The newspaper said black Americans were concerned about the war, but they also worried about "the battle for survival and equal rights." [145] The editorial found no reason to support the war:

"We have determined that fighting the war will not give us first-class citizenship, nor will have any significant effect on the racist attitudes of whites. Nothing thus far has." [146]

Johnson's death and the Vietnam cease-fire came within a week of each other in 1973. The Afro-American, which consistently had criticized the war, declined to let opposition to US military policy undermine Johnson's civil rights contributions: "So great were his contributions on behalf of equal rights, justice and a better deal for all Americans that his regrettable role in the Vietnam War did not and cannot undo them." [147]

Analysis

Although Lyndon Johnson promised the United States both "guns and butter" during his administration, the national black newspapers never quite accepted that prospect despite their support for him. The newspapers view the war in the context of a "race focus." They continued to question whether black military service would result in equal rights and equal opportunities on the home front. The black press viewed the Vietnam War in competition with the civil rights movement for financial support, political attention, and media attention. Even with their support of the US war policy in Vietnam, the Courier and Defender questioned funding levels for anti-poverty and education programs, which aided black Americans, with the financial demands of the war. The Afro-American , which opposed the war, also criticized inequities in funding priorities for domestic and foreign programs.

Politics were an early arena of competition. The Defender in 1964 advocated civil rights as the top issue of political concern during the presidential campaign and downplayed foreign policy.[148] The Courier continued that argument in 1968:

> The arguments for and against the war in Vietnam are forged by university professors and students as an intellectual plane that surpasses both the understanding and sensitivity of the man in the street. Whereas, the race issue, which involves in its catalogue of civil rights such matters as fair housing, job opportunities, school desegregation, and social recognition, inescapably partakes of the nature of personal relationships. [149]

The black newspapers were sensitive to any tactics of the civil rights movement or views of black leaders that might provide an opportunity for political opposition to civil rights or anti-poverty legislation. The Courier and Defender in 1964 opposed pre-election civil rights demonstrations that might build "white backlash" to defeat Johnson. The Afro-American in 1967 expressed concern that Congress was using anti-war sentiment and black power advocacy as pretexts to oppose both civil rights legislation and funding for anti-poverty programs. [150]

The black newspapers also took note of the disparity of media attention to and public interest in the war and civil rights movements. The Courier noted in the summer of 1965 that media attention already was shifting away from the civil rights to the Vietnam War. [151] By 1967, a Newsweek executive, Karl Fleming, told a conference on the media and civil rights that "without question Vietnam has taken the lead and stolen the spotlight from civil rights these days." [152] Communication scholar Randall M. Fisher noted in 1985 that white student involvement in civil rights protests declined after the Berkeley free speech movement in 1965:

> From that point, the interests of white students in the black cause waned sharply, and in a few months America's attention was to turn so fully to the Vietnam War that it dominated the news media, our political processes, and the nation's energies to such a degree that interest in other causes became secondary for most citizens. [153]

The black newspapers' support for Lyndon Johnson despite questions about war policy and funding also may be a result of "race focus." Drake and Cayton in their 1945 study of the Chicago Defender developed coverage classifications of personalities in black newspapers that included "race hero," "race leader," and "friend of the Negro." The black press viewed Johnson as a strong friend. By the end of his term, the black newspapers had elevated Johnson past John F. Kennedy, past Franklin Roosevelt, and even past Abraham Lincoln as the president who had done the most to bring black Americans fully into full citizenship in the United States.

Despite initial reservations about his Southern heritage, the national black press consistently praised Johnson for his domestic leadership and either praised his Vietnam policy or failed to attach their disagreements with the policy to his leadership. Political cartoons in the national black press showed Johnson on a lonely mission or a lone vigil to deal both with domestics needs and war problems. Cartoons in the newspapers depicted inequitable funding for Great Society programs because of the war, but only the Afro-American, in one cartoon, portrayed LBJ as an agent of that distribution. [154] As public opinion grew against US war policy and Johnson, even the Afro-American, despite its opposition to the war, backed the president.

King aide Andrew Young indicated in a 1970 interview that the White House had organized black editors against King and his anti-war efforts. [155] Among Johnson's advisors was black journalist Louis Martin, who joined the Kennedy administration after serving as editor of the Michigan Chronicle. He became editor of the Chicago Defender after his service as deputy chairman of the Democratic Party during the Johnson administration. Martin in 1969 said he had attempted to maintain contact between Johnson and King, but that King declined two invitations to meet with Johnson at the White House. [156] Young said King had talked on the telephone with Johnson about war policy in November 1966, but that was their last contact. [157]

Editorial criticism of King's anti-war stand was a continuation of black press opposition to demonstrations and other tactics that they believed undermined the image of blacks. The criticism also was the result of concern that King not only was diverting attention away from the civil rights movement but also challenging the political and economic order in which black Americans had been battling to participate. The Courier and Defender held white anti-war protesters in particularly low regard and had opposed demonstrations as a civil rights tactic because they believed them in effect and tarnishing to the "black image." The Courier in October 1964 announced a new program of a black newspaper publishers group to create "a new and better image of the Negro citizen, which they felt has been damaged by certain aspects of the civil rights crusade." [158] The editorial noted the desire for acceptance: "Much of the propaganda purported in the Negro's interest has been actually deleterious by representing him as ignorant, impoverished, backward and helpless, and scarcely conducive to that interracial fraternity and acceptance to which all Negroes aspire." [159]

Although conservative columnist George Schuyler represented one extreme of black opinion, his 1966 analysis of the impact of the civil rights "revolution" on the image of black Americans showed concerns of many in the black press. He questioned use of the term "ghetto" to describe all areas of housing for blacks and portrayal of the black American:

> [A]s an ignorant, lowdown, retarded, drug-using, anti-social, criminal being, because he was non-white. Not in sixty years had there been such a wave of Negro defamation in high places and low; and respectable newspapers and magazines vied with each other in printing doleful articles of poorly concealed disparagement under the guise of Christian interest, and illustrated by the most unflattering photographs to be found in the morgue. [160]

The Afro-American in 1967 also opposed proposals for a new round of mass demonstrations that King and the SCLC were proposing for the North: "Dr. King, after raising his campaign funds, needs to back into a leadership huddle and come forth with something more mature and more in tune with the times than this program." [161]

Black opposition to the war brought diverse reaction from the Defender and the Courier While the newspapers supported the right of Julian Bond, [162] Muhammad Ali, [163] and even King to oppose the war as individuals, they found no favor with anti-war protests or efforts to expand the civil rights movement into a broad human rights movement. The newspapers noted some qualms with the views of Bond and Ali, but they noted their First Amendment right to dissent. King's opposition proved a more difficult issue. While the newspapers initially supported his right of dissent, they expressed reservations and eventually opposition to King's stand.

Although the newspapers' editorials generally framed their opposition to King's stand in terms of dissipation of resources for the civil rights movement, the Defender eventually raised another issue: "His [King's] business is not to change America but to solve the problems of living in it and save the black masses from prejudice and unwarranted discrimination." [164] King aide Andrew Young indicated in 1970 that a key issue had become the role of blacks in the middle class. Young said the older civil rights groups such as the NAACP and the National Urban League had tried to be middle class without full evaluation of what that meant:

> [T]here was never any judgment on the middle class white American culture. We saw our role as different. We saw white middle class culture as overwhelmingly racist, materialistic, and militaristic. While we were integrationists in the sense that we saw ourselves involved in the society with them, we were never trying to be like them. [165]

Historian Charlotte G. O'Kelly indicated, however, that the black press was correct in its assessment of the political views of most black Americans: "[T]he evidence gathered thus far indicates that only a small minority of black people support goals of revolutionary change.

Rather they accept the basic contours of American society if it will only allow fuller participation and greater rewards for its black citizens." [166]

Conclusions

While the Afro-American, the Courier, and the Defender maintained support for social order during the 1960s, their editorial positions on the Vietnam War did not have a single perspective. The Afro-American opposed the war, the Defender supported the war through the Johnson administration and the Courier opposed , supported, and then opposed the war again. The newspapers, however, maintained a race focus to view the war in the context of its relationship to the civil rights movement and other interests of black Americans. The newspapers also supported middle-class values as standards for first-class citizenship and sought reform rather than replacement of political and economic structures.

An irony of the 1960s, perhaps, is that while the national black newspapers criticized the militancy of the "black power" movement, notions of "black pride" and "black identity" have been marketing tools of the black press during years of segregation and of integration. The black press in the 1960s also supported middle-class values against which younger members of the white middle class were rebelling. Perhaps that is why the black press scorned young anti-war protesters who were fleeing the affluence that the newspapers were seeking for their audiences.

While even supporters have questioned the role of the black press because of its race focus in contrast to newspapers of "mass" distribution, new communication technologies are challenging previous notions of mass communication. Media companies in the 1990s are identifying target audiences for their informational and commercial messages. Computer-mediated communication systems, with integration of telephone, computer, and television technologies, will serve even more narrowly defined audiences. Studies of the black press can help to provide a framework for future research on targeted communication.

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Victoria Goff

Print Journalism in Mexico: From Printing Press to Revolutionary Press
1536-1821

In 1542, only 50 years after Columbus discovered the New World, Mexico produced the first precursor of newspapers in the Americas, an *hoja volante* or flying sheet which reported a devastating earthquake in Guatemala City in 1541. Despite Mexico's long journalism history, American historians, with some exceptions, have neglected the contributions of Mexico in the founding of journalism in the New World.[1] This study, which will attempt to rectify this situation, is based primarily on the excellent collection of seventeenth century *hojas volantes* held by the Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas, Austin, and the newspaper holdings of the University of Texas, Austin; the University of California, Berkeley; Stanford; the Sutro Library; the California State Library; UCLA; the Library of Congress; and the *Hemeroteca Nacional de México.*

Because of the limits imposed by this paper, only the colonial period (1536-1821) will be discussed. The history of Mexican journalism during the colonial period can be divided into three stages. Although the conquest began in 1519, the first period begins in 1536 when the printing press was introduced to Mexico by Father Juan de Zumárraga and ends in 1721, the year before Mexico's first paper, the *Gaceta de México*, was founded.[2] There were no newspapers *per se* in Mexico from 1536 to 1721, and *hojas volantes*, the earliest examples of print journalism, dominated the period.[3]

Most colonial newspapers during the second period (1722-1810) covered news, but there was a significant number of periodicals whose primary focus was either literary or scientific. This period also saw the birth of Mexico's first newspaper, the *Gaceta de México*, as well as the creation of its first daily, the *Diario de México*, in 1805. These early periodicals constituted an opinion press and had strong religious overtones.

The press evolved into a political press in 1810 with the outbreak of the War of Independence. This third stage began with the appearance of *El Despertador Nacional*, Mexico's first revolutionary newspaper, and lasted until the war was over in 1821. Papers can be divided into royalist and insurgent periodicals.

First Stage

HOJAS VOLANTES (1536-1721)

Printing in the New World

Prior to examining the development of journalism in the New World, one needs to understand a little about the development of printing in Europe and the Americas. The invention of movable type by the German Johann Guttenberg in the fifteenth century initiated a communication revolution, and before the end of the century, there were print shops in all the countries that would eventually colonize the New World. At first European kings did not recognize the religious and political ramifications of the printing press, but once they did, they instituted licensing, prior restraint, and prosecutions for seditious libel. Publishing "under authority" from the government, plus ecclesiastical censorship, retarded the development of journalism in Spanish America for centuries.

The first man to affect the course of journalism in the New World was Mexico's first bishop and archbishop, Juan de Zumárraga. Born in 1468 in Durango, Vizcaya, Spain, he held many offices before he was elected bishop of Mexico at the age of sixty. He came to Mexico in 1528, along with the first *oidores* (judges) of the *audiencia* (administrative court). Under the rule of this *audiencia* (1529-1530) the Indians were cruelly exploited. They were losing their land and were being forced to labor for the Spaniards. Their daughters were violated and their sons enslaved.

Zumárraga, who had been named "Protector of the Indians," tirelessly denounced the *audiencia* and barely escaped assassination by the judges' henchmen. He excommunicated the judges, but they paid little attention to that censure. Zumárraga finally decided to appeal to Charles V. Knowing that his letters were not safe, Zumárraga made the difficult journey from Mexico City to Veracruz, entrusted his letter to a sailor who embedded it in a ball of wax, which he then placed in a barrel of oil.

Charles V responded to the bishop's letter by dismissing the old *audiencia* and sending a new one in its place. With the cooperation the new *audiencia* and of Viceroy Mendoza, the bishop at last had a chance to effect some of the reforms for which he had hoped. Zumárraga introduced printing, established schools for Indians, helped found the colleges of Santa Cruz de Tlateloco and San Juan de Letrán, founded the hospital of Amor de Dios and promoted the creation of the University of Mexico.

For the purposes of this study, however, his most significant contribution was the introduction of the printing press. Despite possible royal apprehension, Zumárraga convinced Emperor Charles V of the need for a printing press. Around 1533 Zumárraga sent or presented a memorial to the king. "It seems it would be a useful and convenient thing that there should be a printing press and a paper mill in that country," wrote Zumárraga, adding that there were printers interested in going to Mexico. "His Majesty should grant them some aid to enable them to implant this art."[4] The memorial, which is in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, has notes in the margin that directed officials to grant New Spain's first printer transportation expenses and the necessary privileges.[5] There is disagreement about the exact date the first printing press was introduced to Mexico, but a letter from Bishop Zumárraga to the Emperor, dated May 6, 1538, confirms that there was a printer and a printing press in Mexico at least by that time.[6] Most Mexican authorities agree that the printing press was brought to Mexico in 1536, more than one hundred years before printing was introduced to the English colonies.

Early printers primarily produced religious texts and tracts in both Latin and Spanish. As part of the Church's proselytizing efforts, bilingual books in Spanish and native tongues such as Náhuatl and Tarascan were also printed. Although there are no extant copies, most authorities believe the earliest books were the *Escala Espiritual para llegar al cielo, traducción del latín al castellano por el ven. padre Juan de Estrada* and a *Catecismo Méxicano.*[7] Zumárraga himself wrote several religious works which were all published in Mexico, including the *Breve y mas compendiosa Doctrina* (1539), *Manual de Adultos* (1540), *Doctrina Cristiana breve* (1543), *Doctrina breve muy provechosa* (1544), *Tripartito del Cristianissimo y Consolatorio Dr. Juan Gerson de Doctrina Cristiana* (1544), and his most personal work, the *Regla Cristiana Breve* (1547).

Although religious titles predominated, a variety of other topics were covered. Colonial American printer and press scholar Isaiah Thomas wrote that since the press was "under the absolute control of government, we might expect to find the catalogue of Spanish American publications confined within narrow limits; but the fact is, that the works which treat of religion, history, morals, and classical works, which in that country have been printed, are numerous."[8] Agustín Agüeros de la Portilla, a Mexican expert on Spanish American printing, mentioned other books that dealt with medicine, law, and the military and naval arts. By the end of the sixteenth century, almost 250 separate titles had been printed in Mexico.[9] Throughout the colonial period the government maintained strict control over printing. Imprints had to be approved by censors in Spain before they could be published. This usually resulted in an expensive and lengthy process.

Hojas Volantes

Although book publishing dominated most of this period, the presses were also used in the founding of Mexican journalism. While the first regularly published periodical didn't appear until 1722, *hojas volantes*, the earliest examples of print journalism in the Americas, filled the void. Unlike modern newspapers, these news sheets appeared irregularly and usually covered only one news event.

Mexico's first *hoja volante* reported a 1541 earthquake and storm in Guatemala City.[10] Its headline, *Relación del espantable terremoto que ahora nuevamente ha acontecido en las Indias en una ciudad llamada Guatemala* (Relation of a Terrible Earthquake which Recently Happened in the Indies in a City called Guatemala), is obviously long for current tastes, but its reporting is surprisingly modern and thorough.[11] Its lead ("On Saturday, September 10, 1541, at two in the night . . .") goes on to describe the destruction of both life and property. In great detail the report lists the victims, their occupations, and their families, and relates, when possible, how they died.

While mostly factual, this *hoja* reported more than facts. It editorialized as follows on the causes of the calamity. "We have attributed it to our sins because we do not know how nor from where came such a great tempest."[12] The *hoja* reported some of the remedies the clergy had prescribed for the disaster. "In order to placate the wrath of God, the Bishop held a procession the next morning, and said many masses at the main altar with much devotion and encouraged them and gave them strength. He told them that God had taken the good people to glory and that those remaining were left for testing and, that we should fear death at all times."[13]

Hojas were often referred to as *relaciones* or reports. These American news sheets were patterned after Spanish *relaciones* that were first printed in the early sixteenth century. Reporting important events in Spain, the Spanish models included the "exact dates and times, details and protocol of the period, and insights into the tastes and styles of the century."[14]

Spanish-American *hojas* were not "news" in the sense of being topical. The sea voyage from Europe usually took many months. By the time Mexican printers reprinted the "news" from Europe, it was definitely dated. Even local stories, because of poor internal transportation and communication, were not timely.

Most of the *hojas* reported European news. Little was written about local events and personalities in comparison. There are several possible reasons for this. Most of the early colonists planned to make their fortune in New Spain and retire to Spain; therefore, they wanted to keep up on events at home. Even the ones who decided to stay were homesick for news of Spain. Finally, licensing and censorship probably made it wiser to report foreign news that had already been authorized in Spain. As a consequence, colonial *relaciones* featured safe subjects such as births, deaths, and marriages in the royal houses of Europe.[15]

The political machinations of kings, including their wars, were also of interest to colonial readers. During the seventeenth century most of Europe was at war, and New World readers were anxious to learn about European battles and wars as well as pirate attacks and naval confrontations with the Dutch or English in their part of the world. During those rare moments when Europe was at peace, peace treaties were printed.[16]

Although the conquest of Mexico began in 1519, the occupation of the rest of the Americas continued well into the seventeenth century. The *hojas* kept colonial readers in Mexico City abreast of Spain's expansion.[17] Royal appointments (*provisiones y mercedes*) were also newsworthy. In addition to appointing political officials such as viceroys, captains-general, and members of the *audiencia*, Hapsburg and Bourbon monarchs made ecclesiastical appointments and these were reported as well.[18]

With the close interaction between the state and church, *relaciones* also carried a lot of religious news.[19] These stories ran the gamut from the death of a Pope to miracles, visions and cures.[20] Several stories, while not dealing with miracles, were sensationalistic and not unlike stories covered in today's supermarket tabloids.[21] Unlike many modern Mexican newspapers, *hojas* infrequently reported crime stories, but natural disasters, such as the 1541 earthquake, continued to attract a colonial readership.[22]

Most news in the *hojas* was copied from European gazettes that arrived in Veracruz twice a year with the official fleet from Spain. Some news sheets mention the cities where the story was first published–Madrid, Seville, Amsterdam, Lima–but the vast majority do not indicate their original source. Letters provided another news source. The word *carta* (letter) appears frequently in many headlines. Other sources of news included treaties, royal appointments, royal and religious decrees, and statutes.

Whether they contained American or European news or whether they were firsthand accounts or a rehashing of official documents, *relaciones* were awaited with great expectation. Most *relaciones* were sold by printer/publishers in Mexico City. Just as newspapers were shared in coffee houses in colonial English America, one Mexican news sheet was probably read by many readers. In addition, some Mexico City *hojas* must have reached the hinterland, but bad roads and primitive transportation probably added to the inherent difficulties of disseminating the news. The audience for news sheets was also limited by the low level of literacy, governmental and ecclesiastical censorship, high production costs, and the relatively small size of the Spanish-speaking population. The lack of an adequate paper supply was a major problem that prohibited widespread distribution.

The *hojas* or *relaciones* tell us about the men and women who published them. Most Mexican *relaciones* were printed by the Calderón family, which operated a printing business in Mexico City for 132 years. Founded by Bernardo Calderón in 1631, the firm passed to his widow, Paula de Benavides, on his death. After receiving viceregal permission, she ran the establishment from 1641 to 1684.[23] Other widows also carried on their husbands' firms.

More than one scholar has tried to attribute the success of these widows or *viudas* to some man in the background such as a son, son-in-law, or employee. Few nineteenth century Mexican historians were willing to concede that a woman could run a printing establishment on her own. Benavides de Calderón has six children including four sons, Antonio, Gabriel, Diego, and Bernardo. Even though all four sons entered the Church, some scholars credited Antonio Calderón de Benavides, who was born in Mexico City in 1630, with being the real boss of the printing establishment from 1645 until his death in 1668. Another source says Doña Calderón ran it by herself while a third source says Antonio was only a printer from 1645 to 1649 or from the age of 15 to 19.[24] Even though Antonio Calderón de Benavides and his brothers may have been involved in the printing business, the firm eventually passed into the hands of Benavides's daughter Micaela.[25] No matter who ran the Calderón firm, the Calderóns were responsible for more *hojas* than any other printer during the seventeenth century.

Hojas Volantes, which first appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century, were frequently published and sold by the Calderons and other Mexico City printers by the seventeenth century. They were still popular during the eighteenth century. While crude by modern standards, the *hojas* filled a need for news for almost two centuries. Although they lacked many characteristics of newspapers (periodicity, a regular title, pagination, variety, and timeliness), they helped develop a reading audience for news. Despite obstacles such as illiteracy, poor transportation, lack of paper, expensive equipment, and censorship, the early printer/publishers left an interesting social history of what colonial Spanish American readers thought was newsworthy or what, reading between the lines of civil and ecclesiastic censorship, the government and the Church thought was fit to print. Most importantly, they paved the way for the *gazetas* and *mercurios* of the late seventeenth century and eventually for the first newspaper.

Second Stage

VICEREGAL NEWSPAPERS (1722-1810)

Seventeenth Century Antecedents

Although there weren't any regularly published periodicals during the seventeenth century, there were annual *gazetas*, which began appearing around 1665. The García Icazbalceta collection at the University of Texas, Austin, includes *gazetas* from 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1670, and 1671.[26] When the *hojas* evolved from reporting one item to covering more news in the *gazetas*, news from Spain generally came first. If there were any royal appointments, they came last.[27]

In addition to the *gazetas*, four volumes of *Mercurio Volante* were published in 1693 by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, one of the most famous intellectuals of the viceregal period. The *Mercurio Volante* is thought by some to have been the first newspaper in both Mexico and the rest of Spanish America. However, most modern scholars concur that it was not a newspaper but a pamphlet published in installments. It gave an historical account of the recapture of the provinces of New Mexico by Diego de Vargas Zapata Luxán Ponce de León.[28]

Sigüenza y Góngora was a priest, historian, mathematician, critic, poet, astronomer, archaeologist, and philosopher. And some would say a journalist. His name is often associated with the forerunners of journalism, and there definitely was a period when his writings could have been described as journalistic. In addition to the *Mercurio Volante*, he wrote several *hojas volantes*, including a 1691 report of a Spanish victory against the French in Santo Domingo.[29]

Colonial Newspapers in New Spain (1722-1810)

1722	*Gaceta de México y noticias de Nueva España* D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa
1727	*Gazeta Nueva de Madrid* Reprinted by José Bernardo Hogal
1728-1742	*Gazeta de México* D. Juan Francisco Sahagún de Arévalo
1768	*Diario Literario* José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez
1769	*Lecciones Matematicas* Dr. José Ignacio Bartolache
1772-1773	*Mercurio Volante* Dr. José Ignacio Bartolache
1772-1773	*Asuntos varios sobre Ciencias y Artes* José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez
1777	*Advertencias sobre el uso del reloj* Diego Guadalajara Tello
1784-1809	*Gazeta de México* Manuel Antonio Valdés
1787	*Observaciones sobre Física, Historia, Naturaliza y Artes Utíles* José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez
1788-1795	*Gazeta de Literatura* José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez
1805-1817	*Diario de México* Carlos M. de Bustamante, Jacobo de Villaurrutia, and José M. Wenceslao Barquera
1807	*Jornal de Veracruz*

Eighteenth century Mexican newspapers shared several features with the *hojas volantes*. International news, for example, still predominated and continued to be gleaned directly from the news sheets, gazettes, private letters, and official documents that arrived with the official Spanish fleet twice a year. Thus, foreign news was as dated as it had been during the heyday of the *hojas volantes.* The reading audience remained the same–an elite, educated minority. The copy reflected the interests of this influential segment of the population.

During this period and into the revolutionary period, the editorial leadership of churchmen was pervasive. This, of course, should not be surprising since throughout the colonial period churchmen, with their superior education, acted as transmitters of Hispanic culture. The Church was one of the few options the elite had open for their sons who weren't first born.

Newspapers during this second period can be classified into three types–those which focused primarily on 1) news, 2) literature, or 3) science. This classification system is by no means precise since newspapers, whose main focus was news, frequently filled their pages with literary and scientific copy. The majority of colonial newspapers, however, dealt with news. The main ones in this category included the *Diario de México*, the *Jornal Económico Mercantíl de Veracruz*, the *Correo Semanario Político y Mercantil de México* and the journals of Juan Ignacio Castorena Ursúa y Goyeneche, Juan Francisco de Sahagún de Arévalo, Manuel Antonio Valdés and of the viceregal government.

Mexico's First Newspaper:
Gaceta de México y Noticias de Nueva España

The first regularly published newspaper in New Spain was the *Gaceta de México y Noticias de Nueva España*, a short-lived monthly which began publication on January 1, 1722. The *Gaceta*, which was composed of four leaves in quarto, was published by Juan Ignacio María Castorena Ursúa y Goyeneche, a native of Zacatecas, a canon of the Metropolitan Cathedral, and the future Bishop of Yucatán. Castorena used the *Gazeta de Madrid* as a model. The *Gaceta de México* reprinted European news from the *Gazeta de Madrid*, and its physical make-up was also patterned after its Spanish counterpart. The paper included news from throughout the Spanish empire and from Europe as well. News was organized by city and was divided by capitals of bishoprics, provinces, and ports. Governors and church officials in other cities were asked in the first issue to send newsworthy items to the *Gaceta.* Reports of official, religious, commercial, social, and marine happenings filled its pages. Each issue had a section at the end about new books from Mexico and Spain. This was the beginning of the close association between journalism and Mexican literature.[30]

The *Gaceta*'s first issue included news from Havana, Valladolid, Oaxaca, Guatemala, Acapulco, and Manila; a report of the safe arrival in Spain of the fleet from Mexico; and the exploration of California. At this time Spanish explorers were still trying

8

to discover whether California was an island or a peninsula. The annual election of the *Ayuntamiento* and the moving of the bones of a former archbishop to the chapel of St. Philip of Jesus were some of the local stories that were covered.[31]

In his introduction to the first issue Castorena wrote the following about the *Gaceta*.

> The happy duration of this court begins its third century, with which it commences to give to the presses its events worthy of great publicity, recorded in these 'Gazettes,' for to print them is a policy so rational that it is authorized by all the Courts of Europe, giving to the press the news that occurs in the short time of seven days, throughout the district.
>
> The custom being diffused it has come to imperial Lima, the celebrated court of Peru, and practicing this plausible diligence, that court prints each month its chief happenings; and not being inferior, the very Illustrious Mexico, Crown of these Kingdoms, commences to implant the custom with the license of the Most Excellent Sr. Marques de Valero, thus making more memorable the doings of the government . . .
>
> It does not lack utility, for besides the general motive of the Gazettes, which is a very faithful relation of what happens in these regions, any discreet man, with the diligence of gathering them together, can without difficulty form some Annals in the future, in which without the trouble of investigating the facts, he may attain the applause of writing the, and of pleasing his correspondents who from Europe ask news of America in order to enrich their histories with novelty.[32]

The *Gaceta* was printed by authority of the viceroy. Thus Castorena was silent on political or governmental matters. Castorena wrote that he was "always following the wishes of the authorities."[33] He published only six issues (January 1 until June 1, 1722). No one seems to know why his periodical ceased publication. Some have claimed his promotion to the bishopric of Yucatán interfered with his journalism career, but since he wasn't made bishop until 1729, this doesn't seem plausible. More likely he ceased publication for economic reasons.

Castorena's *Gaceta* was revived as the *Gazeta de México* in 1728 by Juan Francisco Sahagún de Arévalo Ladrón de Guevara, another churchman. It was published monthly for 12 years from January 1, 1728 until December 1742, for a total of 157 issues. Due to the high cost of paper, the *Gazeta* was not published in 1740 and 1741. When it was reinstituted in January 1742 under the title, *Mercurio de México*, it published month by month the news of 1740 and 1741 alongside that of 1742. It ceased publication in December 1742.[34]

Some issues were four pages, but the majority were eight pages long. All the issues totaled 1,241 pages.[35] The *Gazeta* was organized like Castorena's paper and included news reports from Mexico City, Nueva España, the rest of Spanish America, Europe, and Asia. It also contained a section of *Libros Nuevos* (new books).[36] In recognition of his contributions, Sahagún was named *Primer y General Cronista de la ciudad de México* (Prime and General Chronicler of Mexico City) in 1733.[37]

A third *Gazeta de México* was the best-known and longest lasting newspaper of the viceregal period (1784-1809).[38] It was published by Manuel Antonio Valdés Murguía y Saldaña, who is recognized as the best journalist of this epoch. Born in Mexico in 1741, Valdés was also a noted printer, the father of printing in Guadalajara, and the first non-clerical editor of note. His publication ultimately became Mexico's first official newspaper.[39]

On the first page of the first issue Valdés wrote: "A gazette is nothing more than a collection of the day's news, now of some strange events and now of some ordinary happenings: which are not written for a determined Place, but for an entire Kingdom, where it is morally impossible to find one single person entirely informed of what is going on."[40]

The *Gazeta* included news from the entire viceroyalty. Valdés wrote that his object in publishing the *Gazeta* was to present news of marriages, births, monstrous births (*partos monstruosos*), deaths of prelates and principal leaders, fires, unusual hail storms, floods, earthquakes, new businesses, inventions, churches, public buildings, new colleges and monasteries, elections of prelates and judges, plantings and harvests, prices of produce, the abundance or shortage of water, and public utilities.[41]

Valdés's *Gazeta* also featured many scientific articles about subjects such as geology, archeology, botany, and medicine. In addition to Valdés's writings, articles were written by his collaborators Antonio León y Gama, Andrés del Río, and Rodriguez Argüelles, among others. The *Gazeta de México* was illustrated with metal engravings, some of which were reproduced in the *Gazeta de Madrid*.[42]

From its first issue, the *Gazeta* contained a section of advertisements, known as *encargos*. Slaves, houses, or *haciendas* (ranches) were for sale. Books were also advertised in every issue of the *Gazeta*. Most books dealt with philosophy and religion; novels and translations were also heavily advertised.[43] A University of Texas master's thesis compiled a working list of some 1,100 books from the pages of the *Gazeta*.[44]

In November 1805, Juan López de Cancelada, who several sources refer to as a "Spanish adventurer," became the editor of the *Gazeta de México*. After that date, the *Gazeta* was published two times a week. Besides being delivered to people in Mexico City and the provinces, it was sold at a news stand every Wednesday and Saturday. The *Gazeta de México* stopped publishing at the end of 1809, but on January 2, 1810, it changed its name to the *Gaceta del Gobierno de México*. López de Cancelada was its main editor.

Mexico's First Daily:
Diario de México.

Emulating Valdés's *Gazeta* was the *Diario de México*. Founded in 1805 by Jacobo de Villaurrutia and Carlos María de Bustamante, it was the first daily in New Spain and the third daily in Latin America. It had been preceded by the *Papel Periodico* of Havana (1790) and the *Mercurio Peruano* of Lima (1791). Its life span was from October 1, 1805, to December 10, 1812, and from December 20, 1812 until January 4, 1817.

It was important during both the viceregal and revolutionary periods as was the *Gaceta del Gobierno de México*. Villaurrutia and Bustamante dedicated their first columns to literature, poetry, politics, news, and announcements. *El Diario*, which was sold at 12 news stands throughout the city, encouraged its readers to drop off advertisements, poems, or articles in mailboxes which were placed next to the news stands. *Diario*'s principal collaborators were Manuel Navarrete, Francisco Manuel Sánchez de Tagle, José María Lacunza, J. Victoriano Villaseñor, Andrés Quintana Roo, and Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador. It lasted 12 years and is a wonderful source of information for the study of the history, sociology, economy, literature, and folklore of the late viceregal period.[45]

The paper, which consisted of two leaves in quarto, was printed until April 30, 1807, by María Fernández de Jáuregui; from May 1807 to June 1809, by Mariano de Zúniga y Ontiveros; from June 1809 to December 1812, by Juan Bautista Arizpe; from December 1812 to December 1813, by María Fernández de Jáuregui; in January 1814, by Juan Bautista Arizpe; and from January 1814 to January 1817, by José María de Benavente.[46]

From its inception, *El Diario de México* was hounded by Cancelada, the editor of the *Gazeta de México*. In the latter part of 1805, Cancelada convinced Viceroy Iturrigaray to suspend publication of the *Diario* temporarily. Once it reappeared, Iturrigaray continued to censor it. Cancelada finally accused Villaurrutia of sedition against the king, but when the accusation proved false, Cancelada was sentenced by the viceroy to either pay a fine of 500 pesos or to go to prison for two months. Eventually, Cancelada was exiled to Spain.[47]

Daily journalism outside the capital began in March 1, 1806, when *Jornal Económico Mercantíl de Veracruz* was published in Veracruz by Manuel López Bueno. The paper, which consisted of four pages in quarto, lasted until July 31, 1806. As its title indicates, it included commerical and mercantile news; freight and shipping advices; and a few articles on agriculture and industry. The newspaper was given new life on July 1, 1807, when José María Almansa reinstituted it under the name *Diario Mercantil de Veracruz.* It continued until July 6, 1808.[48]

Literary Periodicals

Two of the main periodicals which could be classified as literary periodicals were both edited by Father José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez. He did not have much success with his first periodical, the *Diario Literario de México*, which he began on March 12, 1768. It only survived for eight issues; the last issue came out on May 10, 1768.[49]

Alzate will always be best remembered for his second attempt at journalism, the *Gazeta de Literatura de México*, a monthly which appeared from January 15, 1788, until October 22, 1795.[50] The failure of Father Alzate's first journalistic venture did not discourage him. Indeed, he failed in several other journalistic attempts before he finally gained recognition with his *Gazetas de Literatura.* Because of his work on the latter paper, he deserves a place among the leading pioneer journalists of Mexico. Alzate's *Gazetas de Literatura* contained "curious and useful news, rarely verses, and sometimes illustrations in the form of copper engravings which Agüero and Aguila signed, with motives aboriginal architecture, insects, and vegetables, colored by hand."[51]

Scientific Periodicals

In addition to his literary publications, Alzate was the editor of three scientific newspapers. His *Asuntos varios sobre ciencias y artes*, however, only lasted from November 1772 until January 1773, and his *Observaciones sobre la física, historia natural y artes útiles* was published from March to July 1787. Although Alzate had studied for the priesthood, he was also interested in physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, and the natural sciences. Through his newspapers, he brought scientific knowledge to the attention of the reading public. He wrote in plain language, and his writing remains today among the most interesting and readable of all eighteenth century Spanish-American literature. He was both a scientist and a publicist for science. His prolific activity in this area resulted in his being made a member of the Academy of Science of Paris, the Royal Botanical Garden of Madrid, and the Bascongada Society.[52]

Another journalist deserves mention. Dr. José Bartolache (1739-1790), a well-known writer, edited *Lecciones Matemáticas* (1769). This quarterly was written at the Royal University where he taught medicine. He was also a renowned mathematician. Born into poverty, Bartolache's genius was recognized by a benefactor who helped him obtain an excellent education. He was eventually accepted as a doctor of medicine by the University. Throughout his life he continued his studies and published works on astronomy, botany, medicine, chemistry, physics, and more.[53]

12

One of Bartolache's best known publications was the *Mercurio Volante*, an eight-page quarterly which was published from October 17, 1772, until February 19, 1773. It specialized in news and important information about physics and medicine. "It will go out every Wednesday, the day on which all the Mails of the Kingdom depart from this Capital," wrote Bartolache in the first issue. "I shall always try to place at the front some passage from a good Author, pertaining to the topic, and translated in case of necessity. I say in case of necessity, because I shall not omit those of Spanish Authors, when they occur to me. In other Periodical Papers which I have seen, the respect for the Latins and Greeks is superstitiously guarded. There is no reason for this; I will glory in having been born Spanish . . ."[54]

Third Stage

REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPERS (1810-1821)

After the War of Independence began, there was a proliferation of periodicals, both revolutionary and royalist. All were weeklies; most were short lived; many were operated in the field; and the majority espoused the insurgent cause.

Revolutionary journalists had to make do with primitive equipment and conditions and had severe problems with distribution. The war caused a lot of hardship for the insurgent editors and publishers who typically lead a nomadic existence. Presses had to be smuggled out of Mexico City to the countryside, and once there, they had to be moved from place to place. Nonetheless, revolutionary newspapers enjoyed a fairly wide circulation despite governmental and ecclesiastical threats against readers.

Reporting was also somewhat primitive; the editors of these papers were revolutionaries first and journalists second, although several of them went on to be well-respected journalists during the national period. Journalistic fairness took a back seat to ideology. Some of the reporting, however, was extremely well done.

The most important newspapers during the War of Independence were *El Pensador Mexicano*; *El Juguetillo*, *El Despertador Mexicano* (Guadalajara); *El Ilustrador Nacional* (Sultepec); *El Ilustrador Americano* (Sultepec) *El Semanario Patriótico* (Sultepec); *El Despertador Michoancano* (Valladolid); *El Correo Americano del Sur* (Oaxaca); *El Mexicano Independiente* (Iguala); and *El Aristarco Universal* (Mérida). Despite this variety of titles, places, presses, and editors, these insurgent newspapers had homogeneity, and all were voices against Spanish absolutism.

Several of the editors of the above mentioned newspapers, including José María Cos and José Manuel de Herrera, were clerics. They and others like them were instrumental in maintaining the spirit of fighting troops and the civilians who were actively aiding the insurgents. They proved that the cliché "the pen is mightier than the sword" was often true.

When Napoleon's army overran Spain and he deposed King Ferdinand and placed his brother on the Spanish throne, patriots in Mexico, while nominally remaining loyal to Ferdinand, began to meet in secret to plan for Mexico's eventual independence from Spain. The revolution finally erupted on September 15, 1810, when the rebel leader Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest in the village of Dolores, gathered his Indian parishioners and issued the famous *grito de Dolores*–a battle cry which began 11 years of bloody revolution.

Three months later, Hidalgo established a weekly newspaper, *El Despertador Americano* (The American Awakener), to promote his cause and to respond to the propaganda and distortions that were being published in the official press. Hidalgo appointed Dr. Francisco Severo Maldonado (1775-1832), the cura of Macota, as editor. The first issue of *El Despertador Americano* appeared December 20, 1810.

The first issue of the newspaper was clearly anti-French and criticized those who did not maintain the "most solemn oaths to conquer or die for Religion and for Ferdinand."[55] Mention of the king was soon eliminated from the pages of *El Despertador Americano*, and Maldonado wrote in the second issue: "We believe we are authorized by the Supreme Being, from whom we received the same natural rights as all other men, openly to aspire to independence."[56] Two days later the paper's stand was clear when in an extra issue Maldonado wrote: "Long live religion! Long live independence!"[57]

The seventh issue of *El Despertador Americano*, dated January 17, 1811, was confiscated by the royalist general Félix Calleja after he captured Guadalajara. He seized all 500 copies before they had a chance to circulate. The priest-editor Maldonado was then forced to write and publish a royalist newspaper, *El Telégrafo de Guadalajara*, which attacked the ideals of his friend. Hidalgo meanwhile was captured and executed shortly after the first issue of *Telégrafo* appeared on Mary 12, 1811.[58]

After the execution of Hidalgo, General Ignacio Rayón headed the rebel army. He went to Zitácuaro, a well-protected valley surrounded by high mountains which he encircled with fortifications, complete with moat and double stockade. Doctor José María Cos and Andrés Quintana Roo joined the rebels and began *El Ilustrador Nacional* on April 11, 1812, in nearby Sultepec. Quintana Roo and Cos were now the leading journalists of the insurgent cause.

Quintana Roo, a young intellectual who would someday be one of Mexico's most famous journalists, went on to edit *El Federalista Mexicano*, one of the finest newspapers of the early national period. He also continued to be active in politics after the revolution.

14

However, when he joined forces with Cos, he was just a young law clerk with a reputation as a fine poet. He had been born in Mérida, Yucatán, in 1787, but after his studies were completed, he went to Mexico City where he became involved in the revolution. He was a member of the Junta of Zitácuaro, an organizer of the *Guadalupe* society, and later a deputy to the Congress at Chilpancingo. In addition to his journalistic writings, he is remembered fro writing the Manifesto on September 16, 1812.[59]

Quintana Roo and Cos used a printing press which had once belonged to the Spanish government to publish *El Ilustrador Nacional*. The *Guadalupes*, a secret revolutionary society in Mexico City, had smuggled it to Zitácuaro inside a cartload of gourds.[60] In order to print *El Ilustrador Nacional*, Cos had to make his own type from wood, and since he also lacked ink, he used *añil*, a dye which was also used in the manufacture of *rebozos*(native shawls). *El Ilustrador Nacional* was published until May 16, 1812, for a total of six issues.

Quintana Roo's future wife, Leona Vicario, was also a revolutionary journalist and is considered Mexico's first woman journalist. She is known to Mexican history as the heroine of the revolution (*heroína de la revolución*). Mexican women of her day weren't encouraged to get an education, let alone pursue a career. Vicario had never planned to become a journalist, but her revolutionary zeal drew her to the profession, and she unwittingly became a role model for generations of women journalists to come.[61]

María de la Soledad Leona Camila Martín Vicario, known as Leona, was born in Toluca in 1789 to a wealthy family. Her parents represented the two groups that clashed during the revolutionary war. Her father, Gaspar Martín Vicario, was Spanish born, and her mother, Camila Fernández de San Salvador y Montiel, was of Spanish descent, but was born in Mexico of Mexican parents.[62] Throughout the colonial period most of the high offices and privileges had gone to Spanish-born *gachupines* (ones who wear spurs). Naive-born *criollos* (Creoles), like her mother's family, became understandably resentful after centuries of domination by the *gachupines*. Along with the less privileged *mestizos* and Indians, the *criollos* envied the power and influence of the Spaniards.

Vicario's parents never lived to see the revolution in which their daughter would play such an important part. Her father died when she was a young child, and her mother died when she was in her teens. She went to live in Mexico City with her maternal uncle, renowned attorney Agustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador, who educated her. Her uncle was a royalist writer and ironically was appointed to the five-man provincial censorship board that was instituted during Mexico's two-month free press period.[63]

Quintana Roo worked in her uncle's office as a law clerk. Before Quintana Roo went to the countryside to join Dr. Cos, he and Vicario had become engaged. She stayed in Mexico City where she wrote various *hojas volantes* that were published by the *Guadalupes*. She also contributed to *El Pensador Mexicano* (The Mexican Thinker), which was published by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, Mexico's answer to Thomas Paine. She also sent news reports from the capital to the revolutionary press and relayed news from the rebels to the press in Mexico City. There was definitely an element of danger involved in her activities. All her articles were written in code, and she used the pseudonym *Henriquetta* and used code names for her correspondents, naming them after her literary and historical heroes. Her news reports were delivered to Rayón's agents who met her at a *hacienda* a few miles outside Mexico City.[64]

Other women sent reports, but Vicario is the only one whose journalistic abilities were widely appreciated. In addition to her reporting, Vicario contributed to the revolution by giving most of her considerable inheritance to the cause. Eventually she was caught and sent to Belem Prison, a semi-convent, semi-jail. According to most reports, she was able to keep up her spirits and was even known to joke with her captors. After two years of incarceration, she escaped with the aid of royalists who secretly sympathized with the revolution. After hiding in the suburbs for awhile, she escaped to the countryside and joined Quintana Roo and continued her writing. They led a nomadic life, having to move from one hiding place to another until the end of the revolution.[65]

Other women, equally brave, contributed to the success of the revolutionary press in a different way than Vicario. When the *Guadalupes* found Dr. Cos the metal type and printing implements he needed, three upper-class *criollo* matrons volunteered to help the rebels. They hid everything in picnic baskets and put them on the floor of the carriage they were riding in and covered them with their fashionable skirts. When the carriage was stopped by soldiers, the ladies protested when the soldiers began to investigate. They accused the soldiers of trying to make improper advances. Embarrassed, the soldiers allowed the women to proceed after a cursory inspection.[66]

With the arrival of the typographical material and a new printer, José Robelo, *El Ilustrador Nacional* changed its name to *El Ilustrador Americano*. Dr. Cos, along with Rayón, Quintana Roo, and Dr. Francisco Lorenzo de Velasco, published articles favoring independence as well as the *Plan de Paz y Guerra*, military victories, proclamations, manifestos, and poetry. It was printed by the *Imprenta de la Nación*, and there were 36 issues plus three extras issues.[67]

Its circulation increased greatly, and copies were even distributed in Mexico City. The government didn't sit idly by. On June 1, 1812, it issued a proclamation which prohibited the reading of the newspaper on pain of severe punishment. Two days later the Church threatened anyone who read it with excommunication. In the same year and in the same town, Cos, Quintana Roo, Rayón, and Velasco published *El Semanario Patriótico Americano*, another revolutionary journal. Its 27 issues came out every Sunday from July 19, 1812, until January 17, 1813.[68]

While the revolutionary journalists were busy in the field, events were taking place in Spain that would have a profound effect on a group of journalists based in Mexico City and on the course of the revolution. The *Córtes* (parliament) had been meeting at Cádiz to create a constitution that would preserve the Spanish nation and the monarchy against Napoleon's ambitions. Most of the delegates from both Spain and the New World had been influenced by the liberal ideas of that age and had been affected by the revolutions in America and France. Therefore, it was not surprising that the document they created contained Article 371 which guaranteed freedom of the press.

This did not please Viceroy Francisco Xavier Venegas, and he chose to ignore it for as long as possible. He was afraid that freedom of the press would be used to promote the revolution which had already begun. He had already ignored the ninth decree, an earlier law granting freedom of the press, that had been passed by the *Córtes* on November 10, 1810. Its first article declared that any corporate body or private individual in whatever condition or state was free to write, print, and publish political opinions without necessity of license, revision, or approval prior to publication.[69]

To supervise the free press, the *Córtes* provided for the establishment of a supreme censorship board in Spain. It consisted of nine members, including three clerical members. A similar five-member board was to be established in each provincial capital. The board's job was to examine works denounced by justices and to decide if indeed they were objectionable. If the publications were so deemed, they were collected. Writers who unsuccessfully defended their publications before the provincial board had the right to appeal to the Spanish supreme censorship board.

On December 12, 1810, the supreme censorship board chose Archdeacon José Mariano Beristáin y Souza, José María Fagoaga, Canon Pedro José Fonte, Agustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador (Leona Vicario's uncle), and Guillermo Aguirre to serve on the Mexico City board. Aguirre, who was a regent of the *audiencia*, died before taking office, and Venegas used his death as an excuse for not promulgating the decree.[70] Venegas had also asked the bishops of Puebla, Valladolid, Guadalajara, Mérida (Yucátan), Monterrey, and Mexico City, and the intendants of the province of Mexico, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosí, Guanajuato, Mérida, and Zacatecas for their opinion on the matter. The consensus was that a free press would aid the insurgent cause.[71]

Although he continued to drag his heels after the Constitution was passed, he finally gave in with much reluctance when he was forced to do so by Deputy Miguel

Ramos Arizpe, a representative to the *Córtes* from the provinces of Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, and Texas. Freedom of the press was proclaimed on October 5, 1812.[72] The press enjoyed this freedom for only 63 days before the viceroy found an excuse to suspend not only freedom of the press, but the entire constitution as well.

With freedom of the press established for the first time in Mexican history, the printing establishments of the capital, such as those of Juan Bautista Arizpe, Manuel Antonio Valdés, Mariano Ontiveros, Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui, issued a veritable flood of small newspapers and periodicals. The walking venders of these papers, a few days after liberty of the press was proclaimed, shouted their wares freely in the street, the following being among the newspapers they offered for sale: *La Gaceta, El Pensador extraordinario, El Juguetillo, El Papel nuevo de ahora, El Diario, El verdadero Ilustrador, El Aristarco, El Filópatro, El Jugetón, El Vindicador del Clero, El Perico de la Ciudad, El sastre elogiador de la niña juguetona, El Amigo de la Patria, El Censor extraordinario.*[73]

Announcements in the *Diario de México* and *Gazeta de México* of the new publications appearing during this time list only 35 new imprints. This list, however, must be incomplete since it omits one of the most famous newspapers, *El Pensador Méxicano.* The *Diario de México* itself took full advantage of the new freedom as soon as restrictions were lifted. It printed the entire Law of Freedom of the Press, a Spanish translation of the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights, and the revolutionary Argentine triumvirate's *Manifesto del govierno de Buenos Aires.*[74]

Many of the new newspapers were poorly printed, poorly written, and small minded. Only a few shined. Carlos María de Bustamante's *El Juguetillo* was one of those stars. Taking full advantage of the new freedom, in his first issue he asked, "¿Conqué podemos hablar?" ("So now we can speak?") Although only six issues appeared at this time, *El Juguetillo* was widely parodied and imitated by other publications, such as *El Jugetón* and *Juguetes contra el Juguetillo.*[75]

Another popular newspaper, *El Pensador Méxicano* (The Mexican Thinker), was edited by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. For the rest of his lifetime Fernández de Lizardi was known by the sobriquet *El Pensador.* An intellectual giant, Fernández de Lizardi played an important role in freeing Mexico from Spain and remained active in publishing throughout his lifetime. Nine issues of his *El Pensador Méxicano* were circulated at this time.[76] Each issue was on a different topic; the first dealt with freedom of the press. In the ninth issue, dated December 3, Fernández de Lizardi sent the viceroy a birthday greeting that gave Venegas an excuse to halt press freedom.[77]

> But the forcefulness of truth!
> Today your Excellency will see yourself

> by means of my pen, a miserable mortal,
> a man like all and an atom contemptible
> in the sight of the Almighty. Today your
> Excellency will see yourself as a man who,
> by reason of being one, is subject to
> deceit, to prejudice and to passions.[78]

This was just what Venegas has been looking for. He was already upset that during the parish election on November 29 only Creoles had been named parish electors. Since this was the first step in naming of the new Mexico City municipal council, Venegas was afraid the council would be dominated by those favorable to the revolution. Supposedly, he was further angered that on the evening after the parish election, people had run through the streets yelling, "Viva the authors of *El Juguetillo* and *El Pensador Méxicano*, because they tell the unvarnished truth."[79]

Backed by sixteen out of seventeen votes of the *audiencia*, Venegas suspended freedom of the press on December 5, 1812. Although Article 371 prohibited prior censorship, Venegas ordered the provincial censorship board to examine every piece of writing before publication.[80]

Fernández de Lizardi was jailed by order of the viceroy. From jail he wrote *El Pensador Méxicano*, No. 10 (December 21, 1812) which was passed by the censors. Bustamante escaped to the countryside where he continued his work as a revolutionary journalist. He had feared arrest if he had stayed in Mexico City, especially because of his newspaper's strong opposition to a June 25 edict which had been issued by Venegas. The edict stated that the rebel clergy and the editors and publishers of insurgent newspapers would be tried by a military court and shot if captured.[81]

Revolutionary leader José María Morelos in writing to General Ignacio Rayón in January 1813 more or less sums up the insurgent sentiment: "We see the legality of their conduct: they called election in Mexico to lay their hands on the electors; they granted permission to print in order to apprehend the authors."[82]

On March 4, 1813, Félix Calleja replaced Venegas as viceroy. He began implementing the constitution, but he never reestablished Article 371. He claimed freedom of the press was too great a threat to the nation.[83]

The insurgents reacted to the suspension of the free press through the *Correo americano del sur*, which urged the people to arm themselves. Printed in Oaxaca, it was published by José Manuel de Herrera and later by Bustamante. There were 39 issues from February 25 to November 1813 and five extras.[84]

Royalist newspapers also played their part during the revolution. In Mexico City the viceregal government published between 1810 and 1812 *El Fénix de la Libertad*, *El*

19

Ateneo, and *El Español* in order to combat the insurgents. *El Telégrafo de Guadalajara* (Mary 27, 1811-February 24, 1812) was also a royalist paper.[85]

The official and thus the most important newspaper, the *Gaceta del Gobierno de México*, which began in 1810 and continued until September 29, 1821, waged a battle with the insurgent press. It published government documents and the official side of royalist campaigns and battles. In 1821 its title was changed again. When the colonial government was finally overthrown and an empire under Iturbide was established, the *Gaceta de Gobierno de México* changed its name to the *Gazeta Imperial*.[86]

Mexican journalism during three centuries of Spanish rule went through a dramatic evolution – from the early *hojas volantes* to the *gazetas* and *mercurios* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the revolutionary press of the nineteenth century. All laid the groundwork for the penny press of the nineteenth century and the mass circulation newspapers of the twentieth century.

Footnotes

[1] See Al Hester, "Newspapers and Newspaper Prototypes in Spanish America, 1541-1750," *Journalism History*, IV (Summer 1977); Félix Gutiérrez and Ernesto Ballesteros, "The 1541 Earthquake: Dawn of Latin American Journalism," *Journalism History*, VI (Autumn 1979). Henry Lepidus, *The History of Mexican Journalism.* Journalism series, no. 49. (Columbia: Missouri: University of Missouri, 1928). A thorough search of history dissertations from 1950 to 1991 revealed only one dissertation that dealt with Mexican journalism: "José Antonio Alzate y Ramirez and the *Gazetas de Literatura de México*: 1768-1795" by William Temple of Tulane. A search of back issues of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* from 1921 to the present only revealed two articles that were even closely related to the history of the Mexican press: Carlos Castañeda, "The Beginning of Printing in America," XX, (November 1940): 671-685, and Alfred Hanna and Kathryn Hanna, "The Immigration Movement of the Intervention and Empire as Seen Through the Mexican Press" XXII, No. 2, (May 1947): 220-246.

[2] There is disagreement among U.S. authorities about the date. Estimates range from 1535 to 1539, but Mexican authorities agree on 1536.

[3] *Relación del espantable terremoto que ahora nuevamente ha acontecido en las Indias en una ciudad llamada Guatemala* (Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1542).

[4] Juan de Zumárraga, *Memorial*, undated. Cited by José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México* (8 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1910-11), I, p xxxvi.

[5] Carlos Castañeda, "The Beginning of Printing in America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 20 (November 1940): 671-685.

[6] Letter of Zumárraga to Charles V, May 6, 1538. Cited by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, "Tipografía mexicana," *Obras*, Vol. XVIII: *Biblioteca de autores mexicanos-historiadores* (Mexico: Imprenta de V. Agüeros, 1898), x.

[7] Castañeda, *op. cit.*, 674.

[8] Isaiah Thomas. *The History of Printing in America* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1874 second edition), 7.

[9] Agustín Agüeros de la Portilla, "El Periodismo en México durante la dominación española," in *Anales del Museo Nacional* (Mexico: 1910) 23.

[10] *Relación del espantable terremoto que ahora nuevamente ha acontecido en las Indias en una ciudad llamada Guatemala., op. cit.*

[11] Actually this is not the complete headline; there is a subhead which reads as follows: "*Es cosa de grade admiración y de grande ejemplo para que todos no enmendemos de nuestros pecados y estemos apercibidos para cuando Dios fuere servicio de nos llamar.*"

[12] *Relación del espantable terremoto . . . , op. cit.*, 7.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Henry F. Schulte. *The Spanish Press 1470-1966* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968) 72.

[15] For obvious reasons, most of this type of news covered the Spanish royal family: the birth and baptism of Princess Margarita María; the illness, death, and burial of Philip IV; the last wills and testaments of Philip III and Charles II; and the wedding of María Teresa, the infanta of Spain, to Louis XIV.

Verdadera relación del nacimiento y baptismo de la sereníssima infanta d. Margarita María de Austria, hija de los reyes nuestros señores don Felipe quarto, y D. María-Ana de Austria. (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1651); *Viaje del rey nuestro señor, a*

S. Juan de Luz, y desposorio de la serenissima señora infanta de España, con Luis XIV, rey cristianísimo de Francia. Y buelta de su magestad a esta corte. (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1661); *Clausulas y mandas notables del testamento que antes de su muerte hizo el muy católico y religiosissímo rey don Felipe Tercero nuestro Señor q goza de Dios, con los christianíssimos actos, y pláticas espirituales, que tuvo con su confessor y con el padre Geronymo de Florencia de la Cópañia de Jesús, confesor de los Señores Infantes en su transito. Y cosas muy notables que su magestad hizo y dispuso personalmente en este dicho tiempo.* (Mexico: Diego Garrido, 1621); *Relación de la enfermidad, muere y entierro del Rey D. Felipe Quarto nuestro señor (que esté en el cielo) sucedida jueves 17 de Septiembre año de 1665.* (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1666); *Copia del testamento cerrado que en dos de Octubre, de mil y setecientos del codicilio, que en cinco de dicho mes y año hizo la magestad cathólica del Señor Rey D. Carlos Segundo (que está en Gloria) Debaxo de cuya disposición falleció en primero de Noviembre siguiente. Y también copia del papel que cita el testamento* (No publisher, no date.)

[16] *Tratado para la continuación y renovación de Paz y Amistad, entre las coronas de España, y la Gran Bretaña.* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1668; Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1668). *Tratado de la Paz ajustado entre las coronas de España y Francia. Año 1679.* (Madrid; Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1679).

[17] *Relación de la entrada que hizo el governor de la Nueva Vizcaya Francisco de la Urdiñola a la conquista castigo y pacificaçción de los yndios llamados Xiximes por el año mill y seis cientos y diez, yacavo a fin del dicho año.* (No publisher, circa 1610).

[18] *Mercedes y provisiones que su majestad (Dios le guarde) ha dado ese año de 1652.* (No publisher, circa 1652); *Provisiones, mercedes, y cargos que had dado su Magestad (Dios le guarde) para Nueva España, Perú, y otras partes.* (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1650).

[19] Church leaders were sometimes profiled, and religious festivals were described in detail. One *hoja*, for example, chronicled the founding of a Carmelite convent in Mexico City. Another reported the state of Christianity in China. Because of the Counter-Reformation, stories of Protestants who converted to Catholicism were of great interest to readers, as when the Queen of Sweden, Christina Adolfo, renounced her faith and crown and moved to a convent in Spain. Ordinary news events were often given a religious slant, too. For instance, *hojas* covering the war with the Turks frequently editorialized that the Church would ultimately triumph. Even the report of a comet sighting in Constantinople in 1670 was viewed as an omen of a Christian victory against the Turks.

Año de 161: Lunes 20 de febrero, para la fundación que estava publicado para el día siguiente, del nuevo convento de Carmelitas descalzas en esta ciudad de México. (No publisher, circa 1616); *Relación historial, en que se declaran los motivos que tuo Christina Adolfo reyna de Suecia. Gocia y Vandalia, para dexar sus reynos y señoríos y retirarse a Bruxelas core de Flandes y después á Inspruch, á hazer la abjuración de la heregía, y professión de la Fé, en secreto y en público: Y ultimamente seguir su viage para Roma á besar el pie á su Santidad, y de allí passar á España, á vivir y morir religosament en el convento de las Dwscalçcas de la villa de Madrid.* (Sevilla: 1656; Mexico: viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1656); *Relación primera de la Tartana, que vino de segundo aviso en 11 de Septiembre de 1685.* (Mexico: Heredos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1685); *Relación y copia de carta escrita de la ciudad de Constantinopla, a un cavallero de este ciudad de Sevilla, en que la dá noticia de más horrendo cometa que hasta aora se ha visto: Y de la ruynas que amenaçca al imperio Otomano.* (No publisher, circa 1671).

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[20] A 1640 *hoja* reported that St. Dominic cured a deaf and mute child. The complete title reads "Brief Relation of the Miraculous and Celestial Image of Saint Dominic, Patriarch of the Order of Preachers, Brought from Heaven by the Hand of the Virgin Our Lady. To the Convent that the said Order of Preachers Has in the Villa of Soriano, in the Kingdom of Naples. And Some of he Events in Mexico." Another news sheet related the inexplicable ringing of church bells in a small town Spain. A series of *relaciones* dealt with miracles attributed to a nun from Valladolid. Even a military victory against the French was attributed to a miracle in a 1676 *relación. Breve relación de la milagosa, y celestial imagen de Santo Domingo Patriarca de la Orden de Predicadores, trayda de cielo por mano de la Virgen nuestra señora al convento que la dicha orden predicadores tiene en-la villa de Soriana, e el reyno de Nápoles y algunos de los suedidos en México.* (Mexico: Iuan Ruyz, 1640); *Relación del protentoso milagro que Dios N. Señor ha obrado, por intercessión de la Virgen santíssima de Rosario, y del glorioso patriarca Santo Domingo, con un niño fordo, y mudo, vezino de la ciudad de Ginebra.* (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1656); *Relación y copia de cara escrita á un ministro desta corte, un vezino de la ciudad de Zaragoçca, en este año de 1652. Sobre eltanimiento de la compana de Vililla.* (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1652); *Segunda parte de la relación de la monja de alseres, y dizense en ella cosas admirables, y side dignas de los valerosos hechos desa muger; de lo bien que empleó al tiempo en servicio de nuestro rey y señor.* (Mexico: Hipólito de Rivera, circa 1653); *Ultima y tercera relación, en que se haze verdadera del resto de la vida de la monja alserez, sus memorable virtudes, y exemplar, muere en estos reynos de la Nueva España.* (Mexico: Hipólito de Rivera, 1653).

[21] A 1649 *relación* reported the discovery of a hideous monster in La Rochelle, France. Another *hoja*, printed in Mexico City, reported the birth of Siamese twins in Lima and debated how the "monster" should be baptized.

[22] Natural disasters, such as the 1541 earthquake, continued to attract a colonial readership. The flooding of the Tormes River in Salamanca, Spain was reported in 1626. *Relaciones* covering earthquakes in Lima, Cuzco, Seville, and Sicily are included in the García Icazbalceta Collection at Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas, Austin

[23] José Toribio Medina. *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceánia* (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1958), I, 145-7.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Primera gazeta: Del poderoso exército, que su magestad caesarea del señor emperador Leopoldo Ignacio, primero deste nombre, rey de Ungria y Bohemia, Archeduque de Austria y Borgoña, etc. formó en opposición del exército de Mahamet Sultán, emperadore de los turcos hasta que hizieron paxes, por tiempo de veinte años.* Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1665; *Gazeta general: Sucessos de este año de 1666; provisiones, y mercedes, en los reynos de España, Perú y Nueva España.* Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1666; *Gazeta general que refiere la llegada de la señora Emperatiz á Alemania. Novedad del rey de Francia contra las pazes con España. Y otros varios sucessos. Con las provisiones que su Magestad (que Dios guarde) nuevamente á hecho, en España, en los reynos de Perú y Nueva España. Muertes de Señores y casamientos, hasta el mes de Julio deste año 1667.* Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, circa 1667. *Gazeta nueva, de varios sucessos, hasta el mes de Junio deste año de 1668.* Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1668. *General gazeta, de la flota deste año de 1670: La elección del nuevo pontífice. Un prodigio milagro de la beata Rosa de Santa María; sucessos diferentes hasta*

primero de Junio deste año; provisiones, y mercedes del Perú y la Nueva-España. Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1670; *Gazeta nueva de este año de 1671 tratado para componer las controversias, reprimir las presas, y robos, y ajustar la paz entre las coronas de España y la Gran Bretaña en América.* Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1671.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Luís González Obregón. *Epoca colonial México viejo* (new ed.; Paris: Librería de la Viuda de C. Bouet, 1900), 603.

[29] *Relación histórica de los sucesos de la Armada de Barlovento a fines de 1690 y fines de 1691.* (Mexico: los herederos de la viuda de Calderón, 1691.)

[30] *Gazeta de México* , No. 1, 1 January 1722.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Gazeta de México,* 1728-1739; *Mercurio de México,* January-December 1742.

[35] José Bernardo Hogal printed the first 49 issues. Issues 50 to 59 were printed by the heirs of the widow of Miguel de Rivera; doña María de Rivera printed 60 through 121. Hogal again printed issues 122 to 145, and Hogal's widow printed the last 12 issues.

[36] *Gazeta de México,* 1728-1739; *Mercurio de México,* January-December 1742, *op. cit.*

[37] José Bravo Ugarte. *Periodistas y Periodicos Mexicanos* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1966) 29-30

[38] *Gazeta de México* , 1784-1809, *op. cit.*

[39] *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología.* Tomo II, No. 1 (Mexico: 1910), 423-424.

[40] *Gazeta de México,* No. 1, January 14, 1784.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] At first, the *Gazeta* was published in quarto every two weeks. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros printed the *Gazeta* from 1784 to 1792. When he died in 1792, his heirs continued to print the paper. His son, Mariano José de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, took over the business in 1795 and ran it until his death in 1825.

[43] *Gazeta de México,* 1784-1809, *op. cit.*

[44] Lucile Kirsch Ford. *Book Advertisements listed in the Gaceta de México (1784-1809) with bibliographical annotations* (Austin: University of Texas, 1949).

[45] *Diario de México,* October 1, 1805 - December 10, 1812; December 20, 1812-January 4, 1817.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Diccionario de los insurgentes.* (Mexico: Editorial de la Nacion), 76.

[48] *Jornal Económico Mercantíl de Veracruz.* March 1, 1806-July 31, 1806; *Diario Mercantil de Veracruz* , July 1, 1807-July 6, 1808.

[49] *Diario Literario de México,* March 12, 1768-May 10, 1768.

[50] *Gazeta de Literatura de México,* January 15, 1788-October 22, 1795.

[51] Sancho Sánchez, *Revista de Revistas* (Año XVI, Núm. 768) 23.

[52] José Antonio Alzate, *Gacetas de literatura de México* (4 vols., Puebla: 1831); Charles Gibson. *Spain in America.* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), 177-178.

[53] Lepidus, *op. cit.*, 16.

[54] *Mercurio Volante,* No. 1, October 17, 1772.

[55] *El Despertador Americano*, No. 1, December 20, 1810.

[56] *El Despertador Americano*, No. 2, December 27, 1810.

[57] *El Despertador Americano*, No. 3, December 19, 1810. This issue was not edited by Maldonado but rather by Dr. José Angel de la Sierra.

[58] *Apuntes biográficos del Dr. D. Francisco Severo Maldonado.* M.N.A.H.E., (Mexico, D.F., 1911); Paulino Machorro Narváez. *D. Francisco Severo Maldonado, un pensador jalisciense del primer tercio del siglo pasado.* (Polis, Mexico, 1938)

[59] Crescencio Carrillo. *La Península de Yucatán. Ojeada sobre su historia. En el Repertorio Pintoresco.* (Mérida: 1863) 468.

[60] Henry Bamburg Parkes. *A History of Mexico.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969) 156.

[61] Three biographical studies of Vicario were done in the nineteenth century: Carlos María de Bustamante, *El Siglo XIX* (Thursday, August 25, 1842); Francisco Sosa. *Biografías de Mexicanos Distinguidos* (Mexico: 1884) 1069-1073; and Jacobo María Sánchez de la Barquera, *La Patria Ilustrada*, October 1, 1894.

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[72] Priestly, *op. cit.*, 230.

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Combatting Economics and the Print Advertising Trend During World War II: IRS Tax Rulings and the War Bond Drives

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Combatting Economics and the Print Advertising Trend During World War II: IRS Tax Rulings and the War Bond Drives

Consumer rationing was introduced in America almost immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and by the Spring of 1943 had been extended to commodities which in 1941 accounted for 20 to 25 percent of consumer expenditures.[1]

Automobiles, tires, gasoline, bicycles, fuel oil, stoves, dairy products, sugar, coffee, shoes, and typewriters were among products rationed or affected by the conversion from consumer goods to war products in 1942. With these products rationed and subject to price control, the amount consumers could spend on the product was limited. Accordingly, a larger share of consumer income was available to buy other products which resulted in an ever widening area of shortage of those products. The increase in consumer spending on other products extended rationing to those products. On the supply side, producers and wholesalers had limited need to advertise when consumer demand was great and products were in limited availability.[2]

The economic trend developing was leading to a decrease in advertising linage in the print media. H.K. McCann, president of McCann-Erickson, one of the world's largest agencies during the second world war stated, "In the case of products which have been restricted, advertising of these products must be curtailed....Doubtless advertising's total volume will shrink during the war." This feeling was echoed in a report by the New York agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, which reported, "To a great extent newspaper advertising by stores and dealers will be curtailed."[3]

The impending advertising trend appeared so threatening to advertising agencies that executives mobilized and formed the Advertising Council in 1942 to respond to the shocks prompted by the advent of World War II.[4] The Ad Council began a campaign to promote advertising as a way to maintain company image in the minds of consumers during a time of shortage and rationing.

An area neglected by researchers and historians concerns the analysis of advertising during wartime, particularly an encompassing national involvement, as in World War II. Despite rationing and wartime conversion by manufacturers, newspapers reflected an overall marked increase in national advertising linage the latter part of 1942 which continued through 1945.

Sentman and Washburn, in their hypothesis, attributed the increase in advertising during World War II to the 1940 excess profits tax and a subsequent Internal Revenue Service ruling in 1942. Their examination of the *Pittsburgh Courier* found that the number of national ads placed in the paper rose more than 60 percent during the war.[5]

This paper expands the Sentman and Washburn study by extending their hypothesis on advertising during World War II from the black press and specifically the *Pittsburgh Courier* to the entire daily U.S. newspaper industry as recorded in *Editor & Publisher*.

This paper argues that despite the economic circumstances of rationing and wartime conversion, which should have created a decrease in advertising, the IRS rulings in 1942 and the emphasis on war bond drives combatted the economic effects of the war on goods and services, and created an increase in advertising linage in daily newspapers during World War II.

Discussion of advertising and excess tax rulings during World War II has been the subject of books and studies, but none of these works have attempted to analyze whether the industry actually experienced an increase.[6]

To accomplish an analysis of the daily newspaper industry, the advertising section of *Editor & Publisher* will be utilized. *Editor & Publisher* published articles specific to challenges faced by newspapers in the advertising industry. Specifically, the publication ran monthly, and semi-annual reports of ad linage of dailies in fifty-two cities. Furthermore, the E&P Index provided a gauge to compare advertising against previous levels. As in the case of World War II, daily newspaper advertising levels during the war could be compared to pre-war levels.

Advertising Linage

By Autumn 1941, media organizations and advertising agencies were indeed concerned with national developments. The approach of war seemed especially threatening. Conversion to wartime production would eliminate many consumer durables and with them the need for large advertising budgets; while the government, through defense contracts and tax rulings, might have disallowed advertising as a business expense altogether.[7]

By May of 1942, retailers were already predicting the worst. To control the public purchasing frenzy, and to prevent prices from rising on scarce goods, the Office of Price Administration (OPA) issued an order to freeze prices. Freezing prices, which would prevent skyrocketing increases on scarce goods, created another complication for agencies during an already crucial situation. One retailer stated, "There will be an acute scarcity of many items, and it is only natural that the same degree of advertising will not be necessary. Newspapers will probably take a hell of licking."[8]

The first six months of 1942 turned ad agency concerns into reality. Six month totals of dailies in fifty-two cities revealed an 8.5 percent drop in advertising linage. The greatest period loss was a 64 percent drop in the automotive classification.[9]

War news for the first six months of 1942 was also disastrous. The Japanese forces captured the Dutch East Indies with its oil and rubber resources. They swept into Burma, took

Wake Island and Guam, and invaded the Aleutian Islands of Alaska. They pushed American forces out of the Philippines and onto the tiny island of Corregidor, where General Jonathon Wainwright surrendered more than 11,000 United States soldiers to the Japanese. It appeared to advertisers and the whole nation that the war would last longer than first anticipated.[10]

A July 1942 survey by the North Carolina Press Association revealed a grim picture of advertising in dailies. The North Carolina daily press lost an average of 33 percent on national advertising, with individual paper losses ranging from 11 percent to 75 percent. Weeklies lost more national ads than dailies, but were successful in increasing local advertising and commercial job printing to recoup some of the losses.[11]

August of 1942 offered a glimmer of hope when the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) sought clarification by the War Production Board (WPB) on their published ruling entitled, "Principles for Determination of Cost Under Government Contracts." The ruling discussed the possibility of ads related to the war effort as being an admissible cost and thus deductible under tax codes.[12]

The Association of National Advertisers (ANA) took the initiative and met with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in an attempt to seek clarification and resolve the issue. The outcome was a victory for advertisers and the media. The commissioner of the IRS stated,

> Advertisements featuring the sale of war Bonds, conservation, nutrition or other government objectives and are clearly signed by their corporation, the advertisement will be considered as institutional or goodwill advertising of the manufacturer and hence, deductible, provided, of course, that the expenditure is reasonable and not made in an attempt to avoid proper taxation.[13]

Advertisers did not respond immediately. Although advertising did increase to levels comparable to the previous year, there was still confusion whether certain types of advertising met the IRS criteria, and if a company would qualify. In late September 1942, the IRS released the Helvering Statement which answered the question in a six-point declaration:

> In determining whether such expenditures were allowable, cognizance will be taken of (1) the size of the business, (2) the amount of prior advertising budgets, (3) the public patronage reasonably to be expected in the future, (4) the increased cost of the elements entering into total advertising expenditures, (5) the introduction of new products and added lines, and (6) buying habits necessitated by war restrictions, by priorities and by the unavailability of many raw materials.[14]

Advertisers and officials of the War Bond Savings Program of the Treasury Department welcomed the IRS clarification announced in late September 1942. The failure of volunteer bond buying prompted the Treasury Department to consider implementing compulsory purchase of bonds. Tax revenue could not sufficiently cover the demands of financing the war, so bond sales were a necessity for financing the increased demand for war materials. The Treasury Department had hoped to avert from the mandatory purchase program because of hardship upon families, and the army of staffers that would be required to police the system. The Treasury Department realized that the potential solution lay in the promotion of bonds and stamps by advertisers, only if they would take up the cause.[15]

Two weeks after the Treasury Department's report on poor War Bond sales, the Newspaper Advertising Executives Association (NAEA) met in Chicago to adopt a plan with the Advertising Council to launch a complete newspaper advertising campaign for a war loan drive.[16]

The plan would require newspaper ad men to contact local and national advertisers to create image ads with a wartime message or theme, particularly the sales of War Bonds and Stamps. The primary benefit was that advertisers would receive a tax deduction for the advertising expense. Furthermore, they would keep their product or service name in front of the public, and show a strong sense of patriotism, even though no product may existed at all, as in the case of automobile manufacturers.

Virtually every industry was changed by the war. Production in 1941 was 20 percent for war and 80 percent for civilian purposes. By the end of 1942 it had become 55 percent for war and 45 percent for civilians. The projections for 1943 were that civilian consumption would decrease even more.[17]

By December of 1942, the linage index revealed a gain of .3 percent for 1942 over 1941 advertising linage.[18] The IRS ruling in August had averted a crisis situation for advertising. The ruling was so effective that automobile linage in November 1942 matched the linage in November 1941, even though the entire industry had stopped producing civilian automobiles by February 1942. Most automobile manufacturers resumed advertising in late summer, with Nash, Hudson and Crosley resuming in the Autumn of 1942.[19] The first war loan drive manifested its effects as advertisers returned, even though some advertisers had no products to advertise.

By January 1943, surveys on the War Loan Drive revealed that between 800 and 1,200 full pages of newspaper space were devoted to the campaign. Newspapers and agencies urged national and local advertisers to promote the war effort. Mandatory sales of stamps and bonds was averted at the end of 1942. However, the Treasury Department was still considering the compulsory purchase of war bonds as an option in 1943.[20]

The Second War Loan Drive opened on April 5, 1943, with advertisements appearing in more than 3,000 dailies and weeklies.[21] Newspaper advertising associations and ad agencies mobilized to support the Treasury Department's drive to raise thirteen billion dollars. After three weeks, more than thirty million lines of advertising appeared in daily newspapers supporting the War Loan Drive. Victor F. Callahan, director of advertising, press, and radio for the War Savings Staff of the Treasury stated, "Even before the Second War Loan campaign started, we believed it was destined to be the biggest advertising promotion in history, but we never did imagine coverage as astounding as that shown by the final figures."[22]

The figures were impressive as advertising linage increased 11.3 percent for the first six months of 1943. This became the highest figure for six months since 1937.[23] In June 1943, newspaper linage registered a 16.7 percent increase.

A considerable portion of the increase came about because of the advertiser's willingness to adopt image ads that promoted the war loan drive. The American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) and the War Advertising Council (WAC) surveyed advertisers and revealed that war bonds and stamps were the major theme adopted by advertisers (see table 1).[24]

Table 1

War Ad Themes and Number of Advertisers
(January - June 1943)

War Bonds & Stamps	749	Economic stability	78
Nutrition	285	Household Conservation	60
Rationing Stamps	200	Farm goals	53
Tire/car conserve	196	Absenteeism	46
Manpower-Womanpower	195	Black markets	34
Victory gardens	188	Scrap salvage	22
Fuel conservation	119	Fat salvage	21

As advertisers and newspapers were analyzing the results of the Second War Loan Drive, the Treasury Department announced the theme for the Third War Loan Drive, "Back the Attack -- Buy War Bonds." The Treasury Department stated that the next drive would begin September 2, 1943, and they set a goal to raise fifteen billion dollars. It was estimated that it would take

100 million lines of advertising in daily and weekly newspapers to accomplish the goal.[25]

To meet the challenge, newspaper ad executives appealed to department stores to adopt institutional advertising. Despite scarcity of goods, department stores were encouraged to do their "patriotic duty" and promote war themes. According to Richard Meyborn of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, "Department stores account for almost one-quarter of all national advertising and their participation would be needed to make the next drive successful."[26]

The addition of institutional advertising by department stores made a marked difference in the Third War Loan Drive as linage soared to more than sixty-one million lines of advertising for the three week campaign, again exceeding the projections of the Treasury Department, and doubling the linage of the Second War Loan Drive.[27]

Advertising reports at the end of 1943 revealed the success of the advertising campaigns as advertising increased 13.2 percent over 1942. More important than the increase were the figures in the E&P Index published in *Editor & Publisher*. The index presented a fifty-two city survey measuring the percentage of advertising in 1943 as it compared to pre-war levels (see table 2). The index provided an accurate comparison on advertising's increase or decrease. A percentage rank of 100.0 indicates that the figure given matches the pre-war advertising linage levels.

Table 2

Editor & Publisher Index Comparison

Percent of 1943 advertising by category with pre-war levels

Category	E&P Index %
Display Only	101.5
Retail	130.0
Department Store	104.4
General	129.6
Automotive	71.1
Financial	91.4

A percentage rank of 100.0 indicates that it matches pre-war levels.

All categories exceeded pre-war levels except automotive and financial. Automotive returned to 70 percent of its previous advertising even though no product existed. Financial institutions were in a similar position. Since the public was investing in war bonds and stamps there were few investments or substantial savings plans on which banks and investment companies could draw upon.

Newspapers continued to be an integral part of war loan drive campaigns during 1944. War bonds and stamps continued to be the dominant theme of advertisers by more than two-to-one over the second ranked theme of fat and grease salvage.[28]

Advertising in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth War Loan Drives in 1944 matched the levels of 1943. However, total linage for the year experienced a decrease. The first six months of 1944, ending in June, showed a 2.2 percent decrease in total newspaper advertising, even though the financial category had returned to its pre-war level.

The decrease in ad linage is primarily attributable to the spectacular news events of early 1944. In January and February 1944, the Marshall Islands fell, giving the United States a key outpost for landing strips for long range bombers. Long range bombing of Japan began in May 1944, with expansive media coverage of the bombing raids.

As strategically important as these events in the Pacific Theatre were, nothing could surpass the news coverage given to events in Europe with the fall of Rome and the invasion of France off the coast of Normandy, both in early June 1944.[29] Newspapers gave vast coverage to these events, and in some cases because of newsprint shortages, all advertising was eliminated from dailies to provide adequate news coverage of the event. The result was a slight decrease in advertising for the first six month period of 1944.[30]

The Fifth War Loan Drive exceeded the success of previous drives. This time the success was attributed to local advertisers and many small ads. Treasury Department official Ted Gamble stated,

> The overwhelming success of the drive could not have been achieved without the truly amazing support of America's advertising industry and advertisers. Never before in history has so much of a product been sold in so short a time. This tremendous record represents an amazing contribution to the war financing effort on the part of the newspapers for which the Treasury is sincerely appreciative.[31]

The laudatory tone of Treasury Department officials turned to concern when the Sixth War Loan Drive resulted in the first decrease experienced during the war loan drive campaigns (see table 3).

Table 3

War Loan Drives and Daily Newspaper Advertising Linage
52 city Survey Index

Drive	Date	Linage
First War Loan Drive	Nov. 1942	Between 20 - 25 million
Second War Loan Drive	Apr. 1943	30 million
Third War Loan Drive	Sep. 1943	61 million
Fourth War Loan Drive	Feb. 1944	58 million
Fifth War Loan Drive	Jul. 1944	66 million
Sixth War Loan drive	Nov. - Dec 1944	56 million

A fear of complacency, on behalf of the American public and advertisers because of recent victories in Europe and the march to Japan, effected the success of the Sixth War Loan Drive, as the American public could sense and end to the conflict.

By mid-December, the Soviet surge had penetrated Eastern Germany and allied aerial bombing occurred around-the clock. As the allies continued to win victories in the war in late 1944, the Treasury Department renewed its campaign for daily newspapers to support the continued War Loan Drives. Ted Gamble, national director of the U.S. Treasury War Finance Division stated,

> Regardless of what happens in Germany, the need for extra bond sales will continue for some time. The public generally feels that we have passed the worst of the war, whereas we are going to have to borrow to meet war expenditures. It is going to be a shock to the people to learn that they are going to have

> to continue expenses during the twelve months ahead. It is a psychological problem that will have to be combatted by advertising.[32]

By years end, 1944 revealed a .5 percent increase over ad linage in 1943. Linage in principal cities varied from city to city with papers reporting slight losses or small increases.[33]

The Seventh War Loan Drive presented the biggest challenge to advertisers. The May 14 - June 10, 1945 drive represented the largest selling assignment to date in the war. Don Bridge, advertising director of Gannett Newspapers, outlined the problem before a group of Boston advertising and newspaper executives:

> The quota for daily newspaper advertising for the Seventh War Loan Drive is the biggest selling assignment in history and calls for the most extensive newspaper advertising in history....It is unnecessary to tell a group like this why the Seventh war loan must succeed. No bond sales, no money; no money, no weapons; no weapons, no victory; no victory, no freedom.[34]

One week before the Seventh War Loan Drive was to begin, Americans were celebrating V-E Day, May 8, 1945, the day after the unconditional surrender of Germany on May 7.

The Treasury Department and daily newspapers were preparing for the May 14, 1945 launch of the Seventh War Loan Drive. The emphasis for war advertising came from the theme "Germany's Defeated, Don't Forget Japan!" Advertisers and Americans weren't forgetting Japan, but they were forgetting about the Seventh War Loan Drive. Three weeks into the war loan drive, Okinawa, a Japanese island fell to American troops. The allies had already overrun Iwo Jima, and bombing attacks of

Tokyo were annihilating.

The Seventh War Loan Drive did not catch the pitch of previous war loan drives as advertisers were welcoming G.I's home from Europe, and promoting future consumer goods after the reconversion. It appeared that after six war loan drives, and what seemed like eminent victory in Japan that the American public was ready to settle back into peacetime. Newspapermen and advertisers displayed a similar reaction when no analysis appeared of the Seventh War Loan Drive in the trade journals *Editor & Publisher* and *Advertising Age* as it had on previous campaigns. Mention of The Seventh War Loan Drive disappeared amidst articles on post-war advertising conversion and the promotion of peacetime products. The war would labor on for two more months until V-J day on August 14, 1945.[35]

Advertising was gradually declining as victory in Europe approached. After the victory there was a sudden, but brief surge as advertisers took out ads complementing troops on the victory in Europe. After V-E day, ads promoting war themes disappeared and ad linage in daily newspapers declined as manufacturers and retailers were planning reconversion and anticipating a return to plentiful consumer goods.

Ad linage in 1945 ended with a decrease for the year as the transition to peacetime began. Advertisers had planned campaigns for after the war when their companies returned to traditional products. However, the ads had to wait for the availability of goods before launching the new campaigns.[36]

Conclusions

The IRS ruling and clarification in August 1942 cleared the way for advertisers to benefit from a tax deduction as long as the company did not promote a specific product or service and carried a war theme. Speaking in 1942 before a joint congressional committee, Henry G. Morgenthau, Jr. stated that the Treasury Department planned to "adhere to its policy regarding as permissible deductions for tax purposes advertising expenses which bear a reasonable relationship to the activity in which the enterprise is engaged.[37]

Advertising increased in late 1942 and maintained a strong surge throughout 1943. Spectacular news events pushed ads aside in favor of news coverage, but the emphasis on the War Loan Drives created a stabilized position for ad linage and 1944 ended with a comparable level with 1944.

Bond and stamp sales emerged and remained the dominant theme throughout the war. This theme carried into the specific war loan drives provided a continued reason for advertisers to run ads, because of the great needs of the Treasury Department to finance the war.

This study supported the Sentman and Washburn hypothesis that the IRS ruling of 1942 created a boost to newspaper advertising. Their findings with the black press, and specifically the *Pittsburgh Courier*, relate closely to the trends found among dailies in fifty-two cities in this study.

The effect on the bond sales by newspapers provided a badly needed boost for the Treasury Department. In turn, the ruling by the IRS, an arm of the Treasury Department saved many jobs in the daily newspaper industry, and many newspapers from potential failure, through the ad revenue boost.

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JUSTICE, PROGRESS, AND A PRESERVED REPUBLIC: BENJAMIN ORANGE FLOWER AND THE ARENA

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JUSTICE, PROGRESS, AND A PRESERVED REPUBLIC: BENJAMIN ORANGE FLOWER AND THE ARENA

The social, political, and economic turmoil that was the Gilded Age produced more than its share of reformers. Industrialism and laissez faire politics all but overwhelmed their attempts to temper society's excesses, however.

Reform journalist Benjamin Orange Flower recognized the essential failings in reformers' work--most toiled independently and had such narrow goals that few were able to articulate a unified and clear solution to America's ills.

Flower, however, had just such a solution. Through his journal, The Arena, which he founded in Boston in 1889, Flower sought to turn America away from its mercantilist interpretation of democracy and toward the republic envisioned by Thomas Jefferson and early settlers: a Christian nation where human rights were inalienable and superseded property rights.

Flower believed reform could be achieved through a public education campaign via The Arena. The Arena's articles would lead to "an awakened [social] conscience" bringing about "the elevation and emancipation of humanity." Flower believed the task was urgent. Trusts were strangling democracy while discontented laborers sought socialistic solutions to their problems.

Flower faced two obstacles in his endeavors. First, he had to unite the kaleidoscope of reformers that filled the nation's cities and towns. Second, Flower had to persuade people to re-evalute their social views and embrace reform.

By virtue of the topics covered in The Arena--many largely unconventional before 1900--and the authors he published, Flower's magazine was the central secular journal for early progressive thought. As such, The Arena one of the few Gilded Age publications available to individuals who wished to challenge the status quo.

Although Flower failed to bring about his alternative America, the magazine's twenty-year publication run reflected the middle class's emerging interest in re-evaluating long-held American ideals. Flower's strongest influence was on those individuals half a generation younger than himself--future writers and thinkers who became the twentieth century's muckrakers and progressive leaders.

Flower is also important because he exemplifies why so many Gilded Age reformers failed in their quest to remake American society. Flower, like many of his magazine's authors, was a drawing room reformer--a Christian dreamer--more intent on tossing forth suggestions through religiously-tinged reformist tracts than he was willing to work with the poor.

Flower also failed because he preferred to talk about, rather than to, the working classes. He was much more at home in the genteel surroundings of Boston's exclusive Back Bay homes than he was the city's impoverished North End. Flower never realized his shortcomings, however, and dedicated the majority of his life to the establishment of a heaven on earth.

JUSTICE, PROGRESS, AND A PRESERVED REPUBLIC: BENJAMIN ORANGE FLOWER AND THE ARENA

The social, political, and economic turmoil that was the Gilded Age produced more than its share of reformers. Social Gospel adherents, suffragists, labor leaders, settlement house workers, utopians,[1] and a host of others expended vast energies to temper America's growing problems. "Men struggled to get at causes, to find corrections, to humanize and socialize the country . . ." Ida Tarbell recalled.[2] Industrialism and laissez faire politics all but overwhelmed their activities, however.

Benjamin Orange Flower, an Ohio-born journalist filled with reformist zeal, recognized the essential failings in reformers' work--most toiled independently and had such narrow goals that few were able to articulate a unified and clear solution to America's social, economic, and political ills. Flower, however, had just such a solution. Through his journal, The Arena, which he founded in Boston in 1889, Flower sought to turn America away from its mercantilist interpretation of democracy and toward the republic envisioned by Thomas Jefferson[3] and early settlers: a Christian nation where human rights were inalienable and superseded property rights.[4] Such a nation, Flower believed, would offer equal rights to women and minorities, have public ownership of railroads and utilities, offer the initiative, referendum, and recall to voters, end child labor and the death penalty,[5] raise salaries and improve living conditions for workers, provide compulsory arbitration for labor disputes, have socialized medicine and good schools, and be free of alcohol and other vices.[6] In short, Flower envisioned a latter-day Athens.[7]

These reforms, achieved through a public education campaign via The Arena, would lead to "an awakened [social] conscience"[8] bringing about "the elevation and emancipation of humanity."[9] Flower's beliefs in progress and the perfectibility of mankind were the motivating forces in his quest to remake American society. He believed the task was urgent. Trusts were strangling democracy while discontented laborers sought socialistic solutions to their problems.[10]

Flower faced two obstacles in his endeavors. First, he had to unite the kaleidoscope of reformers that filled the nation's cities and towns.[11] He recognized that reformers were only strong if they worked collectively. "I feel that we must all stand shoulder to shoulder in this great fight," Flower told Henry Demarest Lloyd.[12] He offered many of the Gilded Age's reformers space in The Arena as a means of establishing a united culture of reform.

Second, Flower had to persuade people to re-evalute their social views and embrace reform. He attempted to do so through The Arena by showing how the other half lived then calling on people to recognize their religious and moral duties to others. Educating the public was the key.[13] Flower's articles were illustrated with examples showing what single individuals could accomplish.[14] His task, however, proved to be difficult.

Many members of the wealthier classes saw individual shortcomings, including thriftlessness, immorality, laziness, and alcohol consumption[15] as the causes of poverty. Furthermore, the poor brought "inconvenience to the community."[16] As such, many members of society believed the poor deserved only minimal charity. And, that charity had to be dealt out harshly.

Not surprising, then, reformers like Flower who recognized that poor wages, long hours, and the nation's laissez faire economic system were largely to blame for much of America's social unrest[17] found themselves labeled as hysterical individuals prone to exaggeration and sensationalism.[18] Religious leaders exacerbated social and economic problems by showing little interest or understanding of the big picture. Stopping work on Sundays was the labor issue that interested the clergy the most.[19]

By virtue of the topics covered in The Arena--many largely unconventional before 1900--and the authors he published, including writer Hamlin Garland,[20] William Jennings Bryan,[21] Elizabeth Cady Stanton,[22] Mary Livermore,[23] Helen Campbell,[24] Terrence Powderly,[25] Henry George,[26] and the Vrooman brothers,[27] Flower's magazine was the central secular journal for early progressive thought. As such, The Arena one of the few Gilded Age publications available to individuals who wished to challenge the status quo.[28] It was extremely important to many reform causes because, as historians have noted, few reform movements can survive, let alone flourish, without an articulate means of communication.[29]

Although Flower failed to bring about his alternative America, the magazine's twenty-year publication run reflected the middle class's emerging interest in re-evaluating long-held American ideals. Flower's strongest influence was on those individuals half a generation younger than himself--future writers and thinkers who became the twentieth century's muckrakers and progressive leaders.[30] Indeed, historian Henry Steel Commager noted that the muckrakers' articles differed little from that of The Arena and The Forum from twenty years earlier. Muckraking, he said, "was merely a more skillfully blended and more plausibly advertised imitation..."[31]

Flower is also important because he exemplifies why so many Gilded Age reformers failed in their quest to remake American society. Flower, like many of his magazine's authors, was a drawing room reformer--a Christian dreamer--more intent on tossing forth suggestions through religiously-tinged reformist tracts than he was willing to work with the poor. The Arena's articles did expose "how the other half lived" to many members of the middle and upper classes, perhaps for the first time. And, The Arena's writers, including Flower, did provide solutions to social problems, yet, Flower was more interested in ideals and placed too much faith in appealing to society's moral values.

Flower also failed because he preferred to talk about, rather than to, the working classes. He was much more at home in the genteel surroundings of Boston's exclusive Back Bay homes than he was the city's impoverished North End. Flower never realized his shortcomings, however, and dedicated the majority of his life to the establishment of a heaven on earth.

Although The Arena was published from December 1889 to August 1909,[32] this study examines Flower's reform views only until 1903, since that is the year that muckraking came to prominence with the first of Ida Tarbell's articles on Standard Oil and Lincoln Steffens's articles on corruption in American cities.

Nineteenth Century Advocacy Journalism

Flower was by no means the first individual to publicize society's dry rot. Reformers of all political and religious beliefs had been at work since the early part of the nineteenth century. Antebellum reformers engaged largely in temperance, women's suffrage, and antislavery crusades. Following the Civil War, a few publications, notably Harper's Weekly and the New York Daily Graphic, investigated some of the negative aspects of industrialization.[33] The ancestor of the Social Gospel movement, the Christian social novel, also had its rudimentary beginning in the 1870s. Early novels featured accounts of labor conditions in New England's clothing mills.[34]

Flower's publication was one of the few multi-causal, nationally circulated, reform magazines not affiliated with any social or religious group during the Gilded Age. These magazines have gone largely unstudied by scholars, although historians frequently cite articles from them. The others were The Forum, founded in 1886 and The New England Magazine, founded in 1889. All three promoted a progressive agenda which influenced later middle-class reformers, including progressives and the muckrakers.[35] Few of the more genteel, literary and political magazines of the time, save for The North American Review, gave space to reform issues. Poverty was seen as vulgar and industrial reform seemed undemocratic to many Americans.

Furthermore, as Richard Hofstadter notes, journals like The Arena and its contemporaries were important because much of the social reform progress made during the Gilded Age and the later Progressive era came directly from journalism. Journalism's ability to expose wrongdoings and the poverty that caused social unrest provided the information that led to public action.[36]

The era's other two reform publications, The Forum and The New England Magazine differed markedly from The Arena. Neither The New England Magazine nor The Forum focused almost exclusively on reform as did The Arena. Nor were the magazine's reform interests as broad. Edwin Doak Mead's journal, The New England Magazine, resembled a slightly more liberal version of such literary and political publications as The Atlantic or The North American Review.[37] Much, but not all, of the magazine's content focused on New England. Mead feared a 100 percent reform journal might turn off his target audience--middle and upper class readers.[38] By sandwiching calls for municipal reform, the elimination of poverty, and an end to laissez faire government between articles on travel, history, biographical sketches, and literary works, Mead hoped to make reform palatable.[39] Flower, by contrast, was far less concerned about making reform acceptable to a genteel audience. Social conditions, he believed, absolutely required the public's acceptance of reform. As such, his writing style reflected the urgency of his mission.

The Forum also was aimed at middle and upper class readers but offered much more reformist fare than did Mead's journal. The Forum's topics and authors were almost as diverse as those of The Arena with one key difference: The Forum lived up to its name by publishing arguments on all sides of the day's leading issues.[40] The Arena sometimes gave space to contrasting views,[41] but most often gave space almost exclusively to arguments which would bring about Flower's view of an alternative America.

Benjamin Orange Flower

Like most reformers, Flower was at the edge of Boston's well-defined social groups. He was well educated, but was not of the intellectual classes. Similarly, he was not wealthy enough to be a Brahmin. Financially he was middle class, but his views purposely set him apart from other middle class members. Furthermore, as historian Arthur Mann noted, reformers like Flower had no set place in the established urban and industrial order, no family ties to Boston, and were not of Yankee or Irish stock.[42]

Having no ties provided the liberty reformers needed to establish their own publications, social groups, networking, and, perhaps most important of all, their own standards for how society, politics, and the economy should be run.[43]

Flower fit a profile typical of many Gilded Age reformers--he was from rural origins, was deeply religious, well educated, and shocked, upon exposure, to the miseries brought about by industrialism. His righteous indignation at social conditions fueled his every reform effort.

He was born in Albion, Illinois on October 19, 1858 to a prominent, religious, and reform-oriented family.[44] Flower's English-immigrant grandfather had established Albion. His father, a minister of the Disciples of Christ, wanted Benjamin to become a minster as well and sent him to Transylvania University's Bible School.[45] Flower stayed for only a year but in that year, like many of his fellow reformers, he discovered Unitarianism. Flower left no written account explaining his conversion, however, Unitarians' involvement in social reform undoubtedly proved to be the attraction to Flower.

Flower always held a deep respect for Christian principles, but he quickly discovered that he preferred to do his preaching with a pen, rather than from a pulpit. At age 22, he co-founded a weekly paper in Albion called the American Sentinel. The newspaper had social and reform leanings, and was particularly devoted to the temperance movement, but lasted only two years.

Flower had been born at the right time to be a reformer. He had not been involved in the war that so sapped the nation's physical and mental energies. Furthermore, he was young enough to believe he could turn around the evils brought about by rampant industrialism. Flower believed youth was the key to reform. He sought other young men and women to write for The Arena, believing they had both the energy and the desire to improve the nation.[46]

Following the failure of the American Sentinel, Flower sought to leave Albion.[47] An ambitious young man, he quickly jumped at an offer from his brother Richard to move to Philadelphia to help publicize Richard's nervous disorder clinic. The clinic prospered and Richard opened a sanitarium in Boston.[48] Richard indulged his brother's passion for journalism by helping Bejamin start a monthly magazine, the American Spectator, in Boston in 1886. The magazine featured prominent advertisements for Richard's sanitarium and mail order businesses. Benjamin Flower founded The Arena three years later and merged the American Spectator into the new magazine.

The new magazine's title came from a passage by German poet Heinrich Heine which appeared on the magazine's cover: "We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into the arena, where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."

The passage not only explains the title of Flower's magazine, it also in large measure explains Flower. A careful reading of The Arena, particularly Flower's signed articles and editorials, suggest a man very much swept up in, and driven by, the reform views of the time. Not an original thinker,[49] he openly accepted all social, economic, and political reforms that would bring about his vision of a humane, Christianized democracy. The Arena, he said, was founded to "agitate, educate, organize, and move forward."[50]

Flower was always a progressive, but disagreed with many Americans as to what was meant by progress. Great industries made the nation rich but they were also a direct cause of slums where poorly clad, impoverished, and exhausted workers lived dreary existences, unable to properly care for their children or have free time to elevate themselves through literature, art, or music.

The Arena

The Arena was aimed at middle and upper class reformers and sympathizers. At 50 cents a copy (or $5.00 per year), it was too expensive for the laboring classes. Although Flower wanted to awaken all of the nation's citizens and rebuild society, he largely sought readers who welcomed new views and ideas.[51]

Flower's journal differed from earlier publications in that it focused almost entirely on reform. The Arena did offer some biographic sketches as well as some fiction, however, the profiles were of the leading reformers and moralists of the time. The poetry, stories, and plays that graced The Arena's pages were published for their messages. Flower never believed in art for art's sake. He followed the lead of his heroes, Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Victor Hugo, and Count Leo Tolstoy who believed that writers could use their pens to argue for social, political, and economic improvements for society.

As such, Flower used his magazine to awaken the public to changing social conditions.[52] In a May 1890 letter to writer Hamlin Garland he noted: "We are in perfect accord as to the needs of the present hour and I am also impressed with the fact that we must depend as much upon the drama and fiction as all other agencies combined in bringing about a higher civilization."[53] Two days later in another letter to Garland, Flower reiterated his point: "We must make the people acquainted with the world's miserables [through literature]."[54]

True to his word, Flower was one of the earliest publishers to give space to the emerging realist writers. He was particularly impressed by Hamlin Garland's realistic stories and plays of midwestern farm life and was the first to publish the young author. When other magazines, such as the genteel _Century_, wouldn't publish Garland's work, Flower encouraged him: "In writing for the Arena either stories or essays I wish you always to feel yourself thoroughly free to express any opinions you desire or to send home any lessons which you feel should be impressed upon the people. I for one do not believe in mincing matters when we are dealing with the great wrongs and evils of the day and the pitiful conditions of society and I do not wish you to feel in writing for the Arena at any time, the slightest constraint."[55]

Flower also gave positive reviews to Frank Norris's works at a time when the more distinguished literary magazines, such as The Century, wouldn't print the pieces because they seemed vulgar.[56]

Critics noted how much The Arena stood apart from other contemporary journals of social and political commentary: "There is more audacity about The Arena than in its older rivals. It has an open mind on every subject . . . but it has a tolerably clear conviction that whatever else may be true, the conventional orthodoxy is false."[57]

The Arena's openness was due largely to the fact that unlike other reformers, Flower never clung to just one reform philosophy. Instead, he approved of almost all measures which would bring about an elevated humanity and improved society. Review of Reviews Editor W. T. Stead noted in 1891 that Flower's "humanitarian instincts have not yet crystallized in any definite formula . . ."[58] Stead's comment remained true throughout Flower's life.

Flower's major contribution was to use The Arena to bring together the leading reform minds of the time. He opened his journal to women,[59] minorities, and believers of all religious, social, political, and humanitarian persuasions. Individuals who understood the need for change and believed that humanity came before profit could usually get a hearing in The Arena.

The pages of The Arena read like a who's who of social and moral reform. The Arena's writers trumpeted a dizzying array of movements and solutions including the Social Gospel,[60] Christian socialism, Edward Bellamy's Nationalism, Populism, and Progressivism.

Flower was especially taken with the message of the emerging Social Gospel movement.[61] Always deeply religious, he found the Social Gospel attractive for its refusion of the past. As historian Henry May notes, the Social Gospel challenged both political and religious beliefs. The early movement posited that America's laissez faire economic system was inadequate, a direct challenge to industrialism. It also encouraged "recognition of human solidarity as a part of Christian teaching." Finally, the Social Gospel proposed that "the church's responsibility should cover not only moral issues but also questions of material welfare," a clear change in Protestant values.[62]

Flower's writing reflects acceptance of all three tenets of the Social Gospel. He was one of the earliest journalists to posit that poverty was caused not by individual or moral failings, but by social conditions. As such, he regularly exhorted the clergy to recognize its responsibilities toward the poor. For example, in an 1891 editorial, Flower noted that every city dweller was aware of the "evils feeding the furnaces of physical, mental, and moral destruction . . . Yet the great churches slumber on, their melodious chimes call the self-satisfied to cushioned seats . . . enabling the children of wealth, who vainly imagine they are the disciples of Jesus, to spend a comfortable hour" while outside church doors are "life-destroying" influences.[63]

He was equally impressed with Populism and approved of its platform which included support for the initiative, referendum, and recall, government ownership of natural monopolies, postal savings banks, and an end to plutocracy. Flower supported William Jennings Bryan believing he could bring about the peaceful, orderly changes needed to stop the looming socialist or plutocratic revolutions.[64]

Flower and his writers penned numerous anti-plutocracy tracts during the 1890s. He believed the nation's trusts were the root cause of poverty, and thus of social unrest. Ending the trusts' grip on society became one of The Arena's biggest crusades. Flower was convinced that regular exposure to the evils of trusts would awaken the nation's citizens[65] to their civic and moral duties.[66] Americans would rally to end the unfair privileges of the few which brought misery to so many.

Persuading the public of the righteousness of his cause was a losing battle in the 1890s, however. Early in America's history the right to acquire, possess, and defend property had become both a natural right and a bulwark of democracy.[67] None of the nation's founders clearly defined the place of property in the greater scheme of rights. This resulted, perhaps unintentionally,[68] in a constitutional ambiguity which Gilded Age capitalists exploited ruthlessly. Furthermore, wealthier Americans did not mix with the lower classes and therefore had difficulty understanding their plight. Religious and social views also led the upper classes to believe the poor were responsible for their own fate. Furthermore, they clung to an age-old assumption that poverty was a normal condition for the majority of people in any country.[69]

Flower disagreed. He believed all citizens (and businesses as well) had a moral responsibility to ensure one another's well being. If not, society would disintegrate, much like that of ancient Rome. He stated this belief frequently in The Arena. For example, in an 1892 article on the dangers of plutocracy Flower noted: "That this lawless power [the trusts] which exasperates and inflames the toilers, and whose very presence lowers, when it does not destroy, all reverence and respect for law, should be tolerated for a day in our Republic, is in itself a startling exhibition of the decline of democracy."[70]

Flower's fears of social instability and the threat of overthrowing democracy were at the forefront of his articles on plutocracy and trusts. For example:

> "Great corporations which have amassed millions from protective laws passed ostensibly for the purpose of raising the wages of the laboring man, are under certain moral obligations, not only to the men who have so largely contributed to the accumulation of their wealth, but also to the community . . . to the government at large, through whose fostering care they have been enabled to acquire vast fortunes. And, moreover, being under these obligations, they should be ready to submit any differences that arise between capital and labor to competent boards of arbitration. They have no moral or legal right to proceed in a manner that would naturally create bitterness and tend to provoke hostility, riot, and bloodshed on the part of the men who have contributed so largely to their own fortunes.[71]

Flower viewed trusts as a direct violation of the democratic principles outlined in the Declaration of Independence. He regularly used the pages of his journal to tell readers just how the sugar trust, the coal trust, the meat trust, and the cigar trust, among others, defied the law. His letters to reformist friends reiterated the same anger and disgust. He told Henry Demarest Lloyd that "it is certainly time for all who have any love for good government to speak and spare not."[72]

Flower was equally alarmed by the responses of wealthy citizens to labor unrest. National Guard armories, supported by private donations, began springing up throughout the nation in the latter two decades of the nineteenth century. Flower realized the rich were willing to arm themselves to keep their hold on government. The middle and upper classes saw national guard units as necessary in the face of growing labor unrest, however. Flower wrote to L.H. Weller, a Populist senator and newspaper editor and said: "If you could see how the armories are going up in the East, you would appreciate the fact that plutocracy is not only alarmed but is determined."[73]

All of Flower's numerous solutions to the nation's social crises included his belief that Americans must rediscover their Christian ethics that got pushed aside in the frenzy to rebuild the nation following the Civil War. The corner stones of character and society, he intoned, were "sincerity, justice, morality, and integrity."[74] He wrote frequently of his heroes, including Whittier, Mazzini, Jefferson, Socrates, and Hugo, holding them up as examples of ethical standard bearers.[75]

Democracy could be saved, Flower believed, if government stepped in and initiated progressive legislation. Flower sought laws to protect women and children, wanted shorter hours for workers, improved housing conditions (via elimination of slums and the mass movement of workers to suburbs where they could have fresh air and garden plots), the ownership of public utilities and railroads,[76] and quality education for children.

The Arena's writers regularly stressed the importance of environment to early childhood development. In an 1890 article, Helen Campbell declared slums were the nurseries of crime because the environment destroyed children's opportunities to obtain proper physical, moral, and mental development.[77] Flower agreed, writing frequently that children should be in school and not in front of the loom. He encouraged cities to build play grounds so that children could have fresh air and proper exercise. Flower also lobbied for moral education so that children, particularly those of the poor, would learn to become good citizens and not venture into lives of crime and recklessness.[78]

Despite years of vigorous lobbying for social change, Flower could claim only one success, and it was relatively minor--increases in age of consent laws. Since the beginning of his magazine's founding, Flower had regularly expounded upon the superior virtues of women and their right to be equal citizens with men. At the same time Flower regularly lobbied against what he perceived to be the immoralities of most males.

The consent bill act was part of a "crusade for sound morality" in which The Arena published a symposium on the iniquity of the age of consent laws. He encouraged readers to write to every legislator in the U.S. and claims that readers sent from 7,000 to 8,000 letters.[79] In 1894 Flower was heartened to see that seven states had raised their age of consent to sixteen or eighteen years of age from the previous 10, 12, and 14.[80] Flower told his friend Henry Demarest Lloyd, "I cited these facts in detail to show you what a magazine like The Arena through the interest of its readers, can do for good legislation even when it enters the fight singlehandedly..."[81]

Why The Arena Failed

Flower's efforts cannot be considered a total failure. He added a strong, regular voice for social reform and was an early supporter of the Social Gospel movement at a time when reform efforts needed a strong catalyst. If he failed to awaken the conscience of society, it was in large measure because society was in too deep a slumber during the Gilded Age.

Flower's approaches and expectations of reform did have multiple flaws, however. Flower's vision of an alternative America was based on a romanticized view past that never truly existed. Certainly industrialism bred corruption and hardship. Yet, his belief that pre-industrial America "had been honored by uncorrupted patriotism and far-seeing statesmanship"[82] ran contrary to the nation's historic record. He did understand, however, that pre-industrial egalitarian order would not return.

Similarly, his writing style was not as crisp and pointed, and therefore as attractive to the public, as was the muckrakers' approach. Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens and others wrote with the same righteous indignation, but did not coat their articles with a heavy religious veneer. They left inspirational tracts and pleas for morality, which often muddied Flower's arguments, to ministers. The "coming dawn" was not as important to muckrakers as was the here and now.

Muckrakers also wrote to a broader public than did Flower and his magazine's other writers. Muckrakers talked to the public, not about them. Flower never appeared to realize that benevolent paternalism was not the solution. He did note, however, in an 1894 letter to Henry Demarest Lloyd, that the working classes seemed to be the individuals that appreciated reformers the least: "The most discouraging phase of the whole thing [i.e., reform], however, is the sordid, stolid condition of the industrial classes in our cities, and the suspicion with which they regard their friends, coupled with their extreme gullibility in swallowing whatever is put forth by their enemies in the plutocratic press."[83]

Then, too, although Flower hoped to awaken the middle and upper classes, he preferred to write to those individuals willing to hear new ideals. They, of course, were not the ones who needed to hear The Arena's message. Furthermore, "Many progressives [including Flower] carried on in a manner to suggest the over zealous, the very moral, the too demanding minister who forces himself upon an unwilling congregation. In part, this evangelical quality derived from the liberal's conception of being the marginal man who leads society in time of crisis. It also grew out of a personal need to find a substitute for the decaying Calvinist orthodoxy. Social reform became that substitute."[84]

As such, The Arena was rarely financially stable. The magazine's advertising, located in the back pages and the back cover, was always light. In 1895, Flower told Lloyd that he could not pay book reviewers for their efforts, but would certainly run the reviews. "I should gladly pay for it, were it not for the fact that we are standing alone and having a hard battle to fight against corporate wealth, which has become so alarmed at the success of The Arena that it has become necessary for us to spend much more money than we would have to spend ....in order to secure the needful advertising to keep our Review before the attention of thinking people."[85]

Later that year he again wrote to Lloyd asking him to find someone who would be willing to invest $12,000 in The Arena. He wanted the money to assist him "in pushing some very important measures which will, I am persuaded, increase our circulation and the influence of our magazine and also enrich our treasury." In same letter Flower claimed that by the third year, 1892, the magazine was making a profit.[86]

Flower's dissident views were part of a tradition of democratic radicalism that began to take shape during the American revolution. Flower's beliefs were drawn in large measure from the social and political philosophies of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and to some extent, Abraham Lincoln. Although Flower had only mixed success in influencing contemporary society, The Arena's moderate popularity was indicative of society's emerging interest in rethinking its social views.

Notes

1. Kenneth M. Roemer, The Obsolete Necessity: America in Utopian Writings, 1888-1900 (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1976).

2. Ida M. Tarbell, All In The Day's Work (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1985), 82.

3. "He more than any other President of the last century stood for the four cardinal and essential demands of civilization dominated by the genius of justice, progress, and felicity: (1) equal rights for all and special privileges for none; (2) liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, and a free press; (3) peace and amity between men and nations; (4) universal education. Moreover, he more than any leading New World statesman of a hundred years ago embodied the noblest concept of the spirit of Democracy that up to his day had appeared above the horizon of civilization." B. O. Flower, "Jefferson's Service To Civilization During The Founding Of The republic," The Arena, vol. 29, May 1903, 500.

4. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 2 November 1889, Henry Demarest Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society (WHS), Madison; Gene Clanton, "The Origins of Populism: A Centennial Essay," unpublished monograph, Washington State University, undated.

5. The death penalty received a great deal of attention, particularly in early issues of the magazine. The invention of the electric chair, and its initial gruesome failures, as well Flower's belief that executions were inhumane, led to the articles. For example, see: Hugh O. Pentecost, "The Crime of Capital Punishment," The Arena, vol. 1, January 1890, 175-183; "Shall We Continue To Kill Our Fellowmen?" The Arena, vol. 1, January 1890, 243-245; George F. Shrady, "The Death Penalty," The Arena, vol. 2, October 1890, 513-523; "Thoughts On The Death Penalty," The Arena, vol. 2, October 1890, 636-638. As with all of Flower's articles, morality and education were central concerns, even regarding the death penalty. On page 245 of his editorial, "Shall We Continue To Kill Our Fellowmen?," Flower stated: "Abolish capital punishment and make our penitentiaries great moral and industrial universities, where every effort shall look toward the development of the moral and spiritual elements of the inmates, where the prisoner will have to work hard and steadily at some employment that in and of itself shall carry an ennobling and educating influence."

6. Much of his social program, as well as his religious, social, and moral views, are explained in "The New Time And How Its Advent May Be Hastened," The Arena, vol. 9 April 1894, 685-695.

7. References to Athens and Rome filled Flower's articles. He used Athens as an example of a heightened civilization while Rome's fall demonstrated what could happen if America did not correct its views of democracy. See, for example, B. O. Flower, "Fostering The Savage In The Young," The Arena, vol. 10, August 1894, 423.

8. B. O. Flower, "Jesus of Caesar," The Arena, vol. 9, March 1894, 522.

9. "We must not lose sight of the fact that while our union must ever be one in aim, having the elevation and emancipation of humanity, through education and justice, as its loadstar, the specific means and measures employed to accomplish this end will be varied to meet the requirements of the situation." Flower, "The New Time And How Its Advent May Be Hastened," 685.

10. "The eighties dripped with blood," noted muckraker Ida Tarbell. See: Tarbell, All In The Day's Work, 82. B. O. Flower, "The Menace of Plutocracy," The Arena, vol. 6, September 1892, 508-5176; Flower had a genuine belief that democracy was on the verge of subversion to plutocracy. He told Iowa populist Luman Weller " . . if you could see how the armories are going up in the East, you would appreciate the fact that plutocracy is not only alarmed, but is determined." Flower, Boston, to L.H. Weller, Independence, Iowa, 13 June 1894, Weller Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. He voiced similar concerns about the overwhelming power of the trusts to Henry Demarest Lloyd: "It is certainly time for all who have any love for good government to speak and spare not." See: Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 15 June 1897, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

11. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 3 July 1895, Lloyd Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisc.; "our union must ever be one in aim . . ." Flower, "The New Time And How Its Advent May Be Hastened," 685.

12. Flower, Boston, to Lloyd, Chicago, 15 June 1897, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

13. Most of the other reformers Flower published also agreed that public education was central. For example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton noted that the first step toward equal conditions for all people was "educate our upper classes, our most intelligent people, into the belief that our present civilization is based on false principles, and that the ignorance, poverty, and crime we see about us are the legitimate results of our false theories." Stanton noted the second step was then to educate citizens to believe that the present social situation could be changed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Where Must Lasting Progress Begin?" The Arena, vol. 4, August 1891, 293-294.

14. Flower, "The New Time And How Its Advent May Be Hastened," 688-689.

15. Although largely liberal, even Flower held the more conservative view that alcohol played an important role in poverty. B. O. Flower, "Ishmaelites of Civilization; Or, The Democracy Of Darkness," The Arena, vol. 6, June 1892, 18-22. See also: Nicholas P. Gilman, "Poverty And Crime In Our Great Cities," The Arena, vol. 1, January 1890, 114-115; O. B. Frothingham, "Is Poverty Increasing?" The Arena, vol. 1, January 1890, 115.

16. Robert Bremner, From The Depths: The Discovery of Poverty In America (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 9.

17. B. O. Flower, "Two Hours In The Social Cellar," The Arena, vol. 5, December 1891, 645-656; Helen Campbell, "Certain Convictions As To Poverty," The Arena, vol. 1, December 1889, 101-113; Rabbi Solomon Schindler, "Natural Monopolies And The State," The Arena, vol. 9, January 1894, 237; B. O. Flower, "They Have Fallen into The Wine Press: Some Facts Illustrating The Onward March Of Uninvited Poverty," The Arena, vol. 9, February 1894, 397; Reverend Frank Buffington Vrooman, "The State And Dwellings For The Poor," The Arena, vol. 12, May 1895, 415-28.

18. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 17 November 1894, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

19. John R. Commons, Social Reform and the Church, (New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1894), 31.

20. Flower published numerous short stories, poems, and a play, "Under The Wheel," by Garland. He also hired Garland to write articles on farm reform and populism. For example, see: Hamlin Garland, "Alliance Wedge In Congress," vol. 5, March 1892, 447-457; "The Single Tax In Actual Application," vol. 10, June 1894, 52-58.

21. William Jennings Bryan, "The President's Currency Plan," The Arena, vol. 11, February 1895, 321-329; "Foreign Influence In American Politics; Influence of Foreign Investors," vol. 19, April 1898, 433-438.

22. Stanton, "Where Must Lasting Progress Begin?" 293-298.

23. Mary A. Livermore, "Centuries of Dishonor," The Arena, vol. 1, December 1889, 82-92.

24. Helen Campbell, "Certain Convictions As To Poverty," The Arena, vol. 1, December 1889, 101-113; "White Child Slavery," The Arena, vol. 1, April 1890, 589-591; "The Working Women of Today," The Arena, vol. 4, August 1891, 329-339.

25. T. V. Powderly, "Government Ownership Of Railroads," The Arena, vol. 7, December 1892, 58-63. Powderly, like so many others who wrote for The Arena advocating government ownership of railroads, used the argument that railroads are public highways created for the benefit of all citizens.

26. Henry George, "To Destroy The Rum Power," The Arena, vol. 1, January 1890, 196-208.

27. Harry, Carl, Walter and Frank Vrooman wrote numerous articles on crime, the church, public health, tenements and charity for The Arena throughout the 1890s. For example, see: Carl Vrooman, "Twentieth Century Democracy, The Arena, vol. 22, November 1899, 584-597; Reverend Frank Buffington Vrooman, "Public Health and National Defence," The Arena, vol. 13, August 1895, 425-438; Harry C. Vrooman, "Charity, old and new," The Arena, vol. 11, January 1895, 274-288.

28. Flower noted in the May 1904 edition of his journal that the magazine had always been an outlet for writers and reformers whose views were not "in harmony with the conventional, conservative, and reactionary opinions," and thus found other forums closed off. B. O. Flower, "Our Position," The Arena, vol. 31, May 1904, 550.

29. Jean Folkerts, "Functions of the Reform Press," Journalism History, 12 (1) (Spring 1985), 22.

30. Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Rise of The City (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), 182-183.

31. Henry Steel Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 76.

32. Flower took a three and one-half year break from editing The Arena beginning mid-1896 and early 1900. During that time he began two other short-lived, reform-oriented publications, The New Time (1897-1898) and The Coming Age (1899-1900).

33. See, for example, "Tenement Houses -- Their Wrongs," New York Tribune, 23 November 1864, 4; "Tenement Life in New York," Harper's Weekly, Vol. 23, 29 March 1879, 246; 266-267; Some attention was paid to the poor before the Civil War. Much of the coverage was by religious groups. One publication, The Herald of Truth published much on the poor in the 1840s. Much of the coverage was negative. Charles Loring Brace's 1872 work, The Dangerous Classes, did much to perpetuate upper class beliefs that the poor were criminals.

34. Henry May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), 207.

35. Ray Stannard Baker, American Chronicle: The Autobiography of Ray Stannard Baker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), 184. Baker noted that despite the work of a few agitators, most notably Henry Demarest Lloyd and The Arena, social and economic conditions did not change. Sensational newspapers made social unrest all the worse by erroneous reporting and declamatory editorials "usually proposing political changes that led nowhere. They increased the unrest and indignation of the public without providing the soundly based and truthful information necessary for effective action under a democratic system."

36. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 186.

37. Mead also was a tireless advocate and leader of the world peace movement. Much of Mead's writings and activities concerning world peace are available on microfilm from the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. See also: Frederick Lynch, "The Leaders of the New Peace Movement in America," The Independent, 22 September 1910, 629-638. Mead wrote numerous articles, pamphlets and editorials on world peace for many publications, including the Boston Advertiser. World peace, anti-imperialism and arbitration were frequent topics in his editorial column, "The Editor's Table" for The New England Magazine. For example, see the editorials in the following issues: March 1896, July 1896, August 1896, May 1898, July 1898, September 1898, October 1898, April 1899 and July 1899.

38. See: Mary M. Cronin, "Encouraging The Humane Preference: The Gilded Age Journalism and Reform Work of Edwin D. Mead," a paper presented to the 19th annual convention of the Western Journalism Historians, Berkeley, California, February 1994.

39. Mead's reform articles and his editorials never threatened or cajoled. Instead, they focused on the positive aspects of reform and the benefits to the middle classes, particularly by stressing the social stability that would arise by ending poverty. See, for example: William M. Salter, "The Problem of the Unemployed," The New England Magazine, March 1891, 108-113; William I. Cole, "Boston's Pauper Institutes," The New England Magazine, April 1898, 233-256; Sara A. Underwood, "A Forgotten Industrial Experiment," The New England Magazine, July 1898, 537-542; Charles Loring Brace, "What the Cities are doing for the Children of the Poor," The New England Magazine, September 1901, 63-73.

40. See, for example: Bishop F. D. Huntington, "Causes of Social Discontent," The Forum, September 1888, 1-9; Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers," The Forum, November 1890, 315-322; D. Means, "Municipal Progress and the Living Wage," The Forum, September 1895, 11-22; Isaac L. Rice, "The Duty of Congress," The Forum, February 1896, 721-732; Isaac L. Rice, "Thou Shalt Not Steal," The Forum, September 1896, 1-15; J. M. Rice, "How Shall The Child Be Taught," The Forum, January 1897, 538-546; George F. Hoar,

"Has The Senate Degenerated," The Forum, April 1897; Frank K. Foster, "The Condition of the American Working-Class: How can it be Benefitted?" The Forum, February 1898, 711-722.

41. One example is Senator John T. Morgan's article suggesting that African-Americans emigrate to another nation to obtain full equality. He argued for separate nations and separate governments for blacks and whites because he said the history of America demonstrates that no matter how intelligent or capable African-Americans may be, white society will not accept them. See: "The Race Question In The United States," The Arena, vol. 10, September 1890, 385-398.

42. Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers In The Urban Age (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1954), 145-146. Mann, page 147, notes, however, that reformers very badly wanted to belong: "they had a mission and a message that might succeed if presented with the right credentials."

43. Ibid., 146-147.

44. Flower left no memoirs, but H. F. Cline who studied Flower in the 1930s calls the family reform-oriented, philanthropic, and well educated. See: H. F. Cline, "Benjamin Orange Flower And The Arena, 1889-1909," Journalism Quarterly, vol. 17, (June 1940), 140.

45. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. 4, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1957), 401.

46. Flower, Boston, to Hamlin Garland, Roxbury, 16 September 1890, Hamlin Garland Collection, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

47. Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 4, 402.

48. Richard's career floundered in the early 1890s when it became apparent he did not possess a medical degree. Mott says Richard had taken only one course at the Cincinnati Health College. Richard got into further trouble for stock fraud. See: Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 402; "Dr. Flower of Boston Arrested," Boston Globe, Feb. 27, 1892, p.1; "Stock Swindler Arrested," Boston Evening Transcript, Jan. 5, 1907, part 2, p. 8, cited in Mott.

49. Those who have studied Flower previously have noted this. See: H. F. Cline, "Benjamin Orange Flower And The Arena, 1889-1909," Journalism Quarterly, vol. 17, (June 1940), 141; Roy P. Fairfield, "Benjamin Orange Flower: Father Of The Muckrakers," American Literature, vol. 22 (January 1951), 272-282.

50. B. O. Flower, "An Earnest Word To Young Men And Women Of America," The Arena, vol. 24, November 1900, 541.

51. Flower, "Our Position," 550.

52. Flower, Boston, to Hamlin Garland, Roxbury, 3 May 1890; 5 May 1890; 31 March 1902, Garland Collection, University of Southern California.

53. Flower, Boston, to Hamlin Garland, Roxbury, 3 May 1890, Garland Collection, University of Southern California.

54. Flower, Boston, to Hamlin Garland, Roxbury, 5 May 1890, Garland Collection, University of Southern California.

55. Flower, Boston, to Hamlin Garland, Roxbury, 30 April 1890, Garland Collection, University of Southern California.

56. Despite Flower's support, Garland eventually left The Arena and sought publication in the more elite publications as a means of increasing his popularity and reputation. See: Joseph B. McCullough, Hamlin Garland (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 20.

57. William T. Stead, Annual Index of Review of Reviews (London: Review of Reviews Publishing Co., 1891), 126.

58. W. T. Stead, "The Arena and its Editor," Review of Reviews, vol. 4, July 1891, 51.

59. Women were significant contributors to the magazine. Howard Cline notes that 23 percent of the contributors were women. Helen Gardener served a brief stint as co-editor. Most of the leading reform women of the time (as well as lesser known authors), including Helen Campbell, Mary Livermore, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Frances Russell wrote for The Arena. See: H. F. Cline, "Flower and the Arena: Purpose and Content," Journalism Quarterly, vol. 17, (September 1940), 249.

60. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, 211.

61. Ibid., 228.

62. Ibid., 231.

63. "Cancer Spots In Metropolitan Life," The Arena, vol. 4, 1891, 760-761.

64. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 21 October 1894, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society. Flower told Lloyd of his support for Populism and Bryan in this letter and outlined, in detail, how a national newspaper supporting the Populists could be started.

78. B. O. Flower, "Character Building The Next Step In Educational Progress," The Arena, vol. 7 (January 1893), 249-256; B. O. Flower, "New Education and The Public Schools," The Arena, vol. 8 (September 1893), 511-528.

79. This number cannot be independently verified.

80. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 12 June 1895, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

81. Ibid.

82. B. O. Flower, "Fostering The Savage In The Young," 423.

83. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 17 November 1894, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

84. Mann, Yankee Reformers In The Urban Age, 147.

85. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 22 April 1895, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

86. Flower, Boston, to Henry Demarest Lloyd, Chicago, 12 June 1895, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

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Jan H. Samoriski

Mark Fowler and the Fairness Doctrine: An Analysis of Speeches and Articles 1981-1987

Following the 1980 U.S. presidential election, American communications policy took a major turn that redefined the government's role in broadcast regulation. Behind the change was a political appointee at one of the most powerful administrative agencies in Washington. The tenure of a young communications lawyer, Mark S. Fowler, as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission will be remembered as a philosophical landmark in broadcast history. Under his leadership, the FCC embarked on a series of initiatives that deregulated the telecommunications industry and altered an ideology that, to this day, remains intact.

For six years, Mark Fowler occupied the country's most influential position in broadcast regulation, leading an aggressive offensive against government influence in the communications marketplace. While his approach to regulation was reflected in nearly all areas of communications policy, perhaps nowhere was it felt more strongly than it was when it came to the Fairness Doctrine.

The Fairness Doctrine, FCC policy that required broadcasters to cover controversial issues and to present opposing views to those issues, was the cornerstone of the public interest standard before it was abandoned under Fowler's successor, Dennis Patrick, in 1987 without the consent of Congress. Its discontinuance was a priority for an FCC on a deregulatory track as part of a broader Reagan administration agenda to lessen the role of government in society. For Mark Fowler, getting rid of the Fairness Doctrine was a personal obsession.

This paper profiles Fowler's deregulatory strategy in dealing with the Fairness Doctrine. It examines primary evidence, speeches and articles by Fowler, plus reaction to them during his term in office from May 1981 to April 1987. It proposes three hypotheses. First, Fowler's personal belief that the Fairness Doctrine was antithetical to the First Amendment was the primary drive behind his efforts to deactivate it. Second, Fowler's hard line against the doctrine was too much, too soon. His aggressive approach was highly criticized by the press and the public, which later forced him to take a softer approach in dealing with the fairness issue. And third, that despite Fowler's efforts, there was little he could do to realize his goal because of the political climate that existed in Washington at the time.

Any history of the deregulatory era of the 1980's would be incomplete without an understanding of the person who held the most powerful position in broadcasting during the height of deregulation. This paper will focus on Fowler, rather than the overall context within which his term existed, in an attempt to better explain the demise of the Fairness Doctrine.

As Chairman of the FCC, Fowler's personal convictions about press freedom and his drive to lessen government involvement in broadcasting highlight both an era and a figure in history. By exploring the evidence about Fowler and the Fairness Doctrine, it is hoped a better understanding will emerge to help explain the dynamics of today's continuing fairness debate.

Method

Mark S. Fowler served as Chairman of the FCC for nearly 6 years, from May 18, 1981 to April 17, 1987[1]. This paper, a case study, divides the period into 3 segments. The first segment will cover Fowler's nomination and senate confirmation, inclusive of the period from April 1981 through April 1983. The second will discuss the period from May 1983 through May 1985. The third section will examine Fowler's last two years as Chairman, from June 1986 through April 17, 1987.

Presenting a chronological survey of Mark Fowler's handling of the Fairness Doctrine best represents the manner in which he approached deregulation during his term. There was a beginning, an initial announcement of a series of objectives during which Fowler targeted the elimination of the Fairness Doctrine as a priority of his administration. A second stage during which Fowler, and his Commission, worked to attain the objectives outlined in the beginning, including substantial work on the 1985 Fairness Report to build a case to suspend the doctrine. And finally, an end, which was a combination of events, much of it reaction, to the deregulatory objectives of the Fowler FCC. The three periods doctrine's history. These will become evident as the paper progresses.

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[1] Daniel Brenner, "Policy-Making at the Fowler FCC: How Speeches Figures In," *Hastings Comm/Ent Law Journal* 10:539 (1988): 541.

Most of the evidence presented here comes from speeches Fowler made during his term and from articles he wrote or co-authored. Other articles about the Fowler FCC come from the popular press. While some references can be easily obtained from traditional library sources, such as law journals, many of the speeches came from private sources, including Fowler himself.

Fowler viewed his speeches and public appearances as an important part of his approach to change in broadcast regulation.[2] Through almost 200 addresses, he "managed to light the sparks of a vigorous policy debate."[3] The emphasis in this paper is on extracting themes from those speeches and articles that best exemplify what Fowler was trying to accomplish by eliminating the doctrine. In focusing on one aspect of his communications reform package, it will sometimes be necessary to delve into other areas. When departures are made they will, however, be brief and only to help illustrate a point.

Interestingly, reaction to the deregulatory agenda of the Fowler Commission was widespread, and often, critical. Many articles written about Fowler's attempts to discontinue the Fairness Doctrine were directed towards him, rather than the Commission or the Reagan administration, which were all part of the deregulatory effort. From the evidence emerges a portrait of a Chairman that reflects his background, education, and experience, all of which were factors that influenced the role he saw for himself as Chairman of the FCC. Any understanding of that role necessarily begins with a profile of the man who played it.

The Fowler Profile

Mark S. Fowler was born on October 6, 1941, in Toronto, Canada.[4] The son of a tobacco wholesaler, Fowler came to the United States when he was ten.[5] With dual citizenship, he later elected to become a U.S. citizen[6] and attended the University of Florida, where in 1966 he received his B.A., and in 1969 from the College of law, his Juris Doctorate.

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[2] Ibid, p. 541.

[3] Ibid, p. 542.

[4] Hearings Before the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, United States Senate, Ninety-Seventh Congress, First Session, on Nominations of Mark S. Fowler, to be Chairman; and Mary Ann Weyforth Dawson, to be a Commissioner,

Fowler's regulatory views can be traced to his frustration with federal broadcast regulations as a young disc jockey.[7] Throughout high school and college, Fowler held various positions at radio stations in West Virginia and Florida. While he attended the University of Florida, Fowler worked at a rock and roll station in Gainesville, where he thought keeping a detailed broadcast log, as was required for all radio operators, was an unnecessary intrusion on the First Amendment rights of broadcasters.[8] The experience left him with a desire to see government influence removed from the business of broadcast programming, a philosophy that stayed with him.

Other legends that originated during the period also became part of the Fowler legacy. One of them was his nickname, "Madman Mark," a name he himself reportedly used on the air as a disc jockey.[9] Some of the titles he would later acquire for his deregulatory enthusiasm in Washington were derivations of the "Madman" label, and included, among other things, references to Fowler as a "mad scientist" who was trying to burn down his own laboratory, the FCC.[10] The laboratory analogy came from the

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Federal Communications Commission, May 1 and May 21, 1981., (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), Government Document Y4.C73/7.97-46, 4.

[5] Richard Stengel, "Evangelist of the Marketplace," *Time* 122(21 November 1983): 58.

[6] 52nd Annual Report/Fiscal Year 1986, Federal Communications Commission, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), Government Document CC1.1 986 A113 0547898 1, 1.

[7] "An FCC Chief Who Thinks Less is More," *Business Week*, 7 May 1984, 148.

[8] Ibid, p. 148.

[9] Bruce Headlam, "Broadcast News," *Saturday Night*, October 1988, 30.

[10] Ibid, p. 31.

frenzied way in which some thought Fowler seemed to be experimenting with broadcast regulation in his capacity as FCC Chairman.

Fowler's rise to the Chairmanship occurred like many political appointments occur in the nation's capital. Following graduation from law school, Fowler co-founded the Washington, D.C. communications law firm of Fowler & Myers. He served as communications council in three political campaigns; the Reagan campaign committee in 1975-76, the Reagan-Bush Committee in 1980, and the Reagan for President Committee in 1979-80.[11] He headed President Reagan's FCC transition team after Reagan won the 1980 campaign and was subsequently rewarded with the Chairmanship of the FCC for his loyalty to the Republican Party.

The Early Years: 1981-1983

Mark Fowler's confirmation hearing before the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation on May 1, 1981, lasted 35 minutes.[12] The hearing was largely procedural, with Chairman Barry Goldwater in an opening statement expressing his displeasure with the previous FCC Chairman, Charlie Ferris. Goldwater said the Commission would be seeing and hearing from Congress more often in the future than it had in the past and that Congress would be playing more of a role in establishing communications policy. Said Goldwater, "...I want to stress that Congress will establish the telecommunications policy, not the Commission or the courts."[13] As it will turn out, Congress will wind up a spectator to the most radical transformation of telecommunications policy in American history.

Fowler's statement before the committee was brief. He emphasized that his regulatory philosophy would be one of "choice and entrepreneurial initiative over pervasive Government control and direction."[14] He said the people have spoken, referring to the recent presidential election, demanding that the influence of Government over their lives and commerce be reduced. Consistent with the administration's goals, Fowler declared he was in harmony with that philosophy and prepared to implement it. The realization of the administration's goals required, said Fowler, that "anachronistic, onerous and even harmful regulations and policies" be eliminated.[15] Fowler said he was committed to building a cooperative relationship between the Commission, the public, and the industry.

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[11] 52nd Annual Report, p. 1.

[12] Nomination Hearing of Mark S. Fowler, p. 5.

[13] Ibid, p. 1.

Following a question and answer session, during which Fowler was asked several industry related questions, none of which concerned the Fairness Doctrine, the hearing adjourned. Fowler's nomination was confirmed by the full Senate on May 14, 1981. He was sworn in as Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission on May 18th.[16]

Within two weeks, Fowler made his first major address, appearing before the International Communications Association Telecommunications Conference in Washington D.C. on June 1.[17] Fowler outlined the Commission's regulatory agenda in a five-part management-by-objective plan that emphasized deregulation. The plan proposed the creation of an unregulated, competitive marketplace, called for the elimination of unnecessary regulations and policies, stressed service to the public, the planning of an international communications policy, and sought the elimination of government action that infringed on freedom of speech. Though not mentioned by name, it would later become clear that the last objective was aimed at the Fairness Doctrine. Fowler said he was sensitive about the potential for overbroad use of power at the Commission when it came to the free expression of ideas. The First Amendment was a guarantee, he said, of the right to freely communicate without having "subjective value judgments [imposed] on the content of the message."[18]

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[14] Ibid, p. 4.

[15] Ibid, p. 4.

[16] 52nd Annual Report, p. 1.

[17] Mark Fowler, "Remarks of Mark S. Fowler, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission Before the International Communications Association, Telecommunications Conference '81," Address (Washington, D.C., 1 June, 1981), Eric ED207088.

Eleven days later, appearing before the Oregon Association of Broadcasters in Newport, his first appearance before a broadcast group since becoming Chairman, the deregulatory theme was more evident, and forceful.[19] His use of analogy was more pronounced, as he compared the fog of Oregon, which he said added to the charm and acted as a balm on the state that soothed and calmed, to a kind of fog in Washington that he said clouded thinking.[20]

In Oregon, Fowler began an attack on government overregulation and promised to unregulate the industry, calling the FCC the "last of the New Deal dinosaurs",[21] an analogy that would follow him through the rest of his term. He also began to criticize existing theories upon which broadcast regulation had been based, such as the spectrum scarcity rationale. Fowler said the rationale, which justifies government regulation based on the premise that there are not enough frequencies available for everyone to broadcast, had little validity in the modern communications environment.

There were too many rules and policies, said Fowler, that encrusted the public interest concept. The role of the Commission as the grand "Poo-Bah of the Potomac" had to change.[22] More than anything else, Fowler said he questioned whether there was a purpose in keeping policies that restricted a broadcaster's First Amendment right to express viewpoints as they saw appropriate, an indirect reference to the Fairness Doctrine. As a former broadcaster, Fowler said he was never fond of the Commission's content based rules, which he though inhibited the exploration of ideas. There were too many rules that were unnecessary and expensive for both the Commission to enforce and for broadcasters to comply with.

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[18] Ibid, p. 8.

[19] Mark Fowler, "Remarks of Mark S. Fowler, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Before the Oregon Association of Broadcasters," Address (Newport, Oregon, 12 June, 1981), Eric ED207088.

[20] Ibid, p. 3.

[21] Ibid, p. 3.

[22] Ibid, p. 4.

The Commission's new "wavelength"[23] caught the media's attention rather quickly, though accounts were on the side of reporting what the Commission had proposed, rather than criticizing it. There seemed to be curiosity about the new Chairman, his regulatory philosophy and what it would mean to different groups affected by what the Commission did.

One magazine that interviewed Fowler for its members was *Religious Broadcasting*.[24] Consistent with what Fowler had said at the beginning of his term, he continued to emphasize the five objectives he had outlined earlier, but he was cautious about what the effects would be on religious broadcasters. The new religious right, a particularly formidable force that helped return the Republicans to office in 1980,[25] would play an important role in the political agenda of the 1980's. Fowler expressed his commitment, again, to eliminating government policies that encroached on free speech. This time, he identified the last of his five goals, the elimination of policies that infringe on free speech, another indirect reference to the Fairness Doctrine, as "by no means the least important"[26] of the five.

In a later interview with *U.S. News and World Report*, the Chairman was more specific about what he meant when he referred to free speech. Asked to explain what he meant about the FCC being the last of the "new deal dinosaurs,"[27] Fowler said federal restrictions on program content needed to be eliminated. When the government determined what was said and heard over the air, it was improper, and, Fowler thought, unconstitutional. Under questioning by *U.S. News and World Report*, Fowler said it was "our goal" to have them both (the equal time rule and the Fairness Doctrine) repealed by 1991, the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights.

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[23] The FCC: on a New Wavelength, p. 172.

[24] "When the FCC, Interview with Mark Fowler, Chairman," *Religious Broadcasting*, September 1981, 30-32.

[25] Jerome Himmelstein, *To the Right: the Transformation of American Conservatism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). The theme of Himmelstein's book is how American conservatism became a political force in the 1980's.

[26] Ibid, p. 30.

Fowler explained that the trusteeship model, under which broadcasters operate as fiduciaries of the public, is not consistent with other communication industries, such as books, magazines, or newspapers. Broadcasters, Fowler said, have in the past been regarded as "supercitizens"[28] with more responsibility than their print counterparts. He thought it was not in the public's interest for the Commission to be able to take away their licenses, which amounts to taking away their investment in a broadcast station. The role of the Commission should be more like a technical traffic cop, concerned only technical regulation, not content regulation. Rules and regulations put in place years ago no longer made sense, or were foolish to start with.

Reaction to Fowler's position on the Fairness Doctrine was immediate, and widespread. The editor of *U.S. News and World Report* argued that the airways belonged to the public,[29] regardless of the intentions of the FCC's new Chairman. Fowler's "anything goes" attitude towards the broadcast industry was not in keeping, said *U.S. News* editor Marvin Stone, with the limited nature of the airways that did not allow everyone access to them. Stone said the First Amendment seemed more supportive of the Fairness Doctrine by allowing citizens access to speech forums, rather than against it. He saw Fowler's regulatory philosophy as allowing broadcasters to "keep their licenses no matter how irresponsibly they behave."[30]

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[27] "Latest Plan to Loosen the Reins on Broadcasting," *U.S. News and World Report* 92(12 April 1982): 433-44.

[28] Ibid, p. 433.

[29] Ibid, p. 43.

The *U.S. News* interview appears to be the first time that it becomes evident that Fowler has specifically targeted the Fairness Doctrine for repeal.[31] It also becomes clear that Fowler is interpreting the First Amendment as a prohibition against government involvement in expression, rather than as a facilitator. Fowler thought ideas would be freer to mesh in a forum where the government stayed out altogether, rather than where it played referee. Fowler said other outlets, such as cable, would provide balance to views expressed by partisan interests. Fowler also articulates another one of his favorite arguments against the Fairness Doctrine, comparing broadcast to print, in which there is no "federal newspaper commission" to require that newspapers run certain types of stories.[32]

Fowler's assault on the trusteeship, or fiduciary, model of broadcast regulation continued into the Fall of his first year in office and grew stronger. During an address before the International Radio and Television Society in New York on September 23, Fowler referred to the relationship between broadcasters and the Commission as one of "paternalism, nannyism, and Big Brother."[33] Fowler said he approached his task as a regulator with a presumption against intervening in the marketplace. Broadcasters, because they know the needs of their communities, are in a better position to determine what they should be programming, not the Commission.

The Commission had come to intimidate broadcasters, said Fowler, through the power of the "raised eyebrow,"[34] that scared corporations, forcing them to bow before the FCC to show their good citizenship and worthiness for a broadcast license under the trusteeship model. The FCC, he said, had no business regulating by a raised eyebrow, nor a raised voice. He said he would not use the Chairmanship for that purpose. "You are not my flock and I am not your shepherd," he said.[35]

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[30] Ibid, p. 76.

[31] At this time, the assumption was that the Fairness Doctrine had been codified by Congress in the 1959 amendments to the Communications Act of 1934. The TRAC case, in which Judge Bork ruled the Fairness Doctrine had not been codified, was still 2 years away.

[32] Ibid, p. 43.

[33] Mark S. Fowler, "The Public's Interest," *Communications and the Law* 4(Winter 1982): 51-58.

Fowler also referred again, as he liked to do when he argued for his hands off regulatory philosophy, to the constitutional prohibition against governmental abridgement of freedom of speech. He referred to an earlier period of American history, challenging what he said was a questionable way of regulating the broadcast industry. "From the colonial days of Peter Zenger forward, no medium of speech and press in this country had yet been so bound or had its freedom to operate so restricted."[36] For now on, said Fowler, "the public interest would determine the public interest."[37]

Turning to the Fairness Doctrine, Fowler said the Commission had recently asked Congress to repeal it, which would give broadcasters a chance to assert, before the legislature, their right to First Amendment protection. Fowler said he was concerned that if the doctrine and equal time rule were allowed to go unchallenged, fairness obligations would be forced upon the new technologies, such as electronic newspapers and teletext.

With his feet now wet, Fowler had taken to other forums besides the podium and media interview to express his views. While audiences were limited at public appearances and what he said confined to what the press thought important to report, Fowler found other outlets to promote his and his Commission's objectives. His views on fairness were published in major newspapers, including the *Washington Post*, and on at least one occasion, the *New York Times*. During this period Fowler wrote, in collaboration with his staff legal assistant, Daniel Brenner, what is considered to be the definitive explanation of his, and presumably the Commission's, philosophy on regulation in, "A Marketplace Approach to Broadcast Regulation."

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[34] Ibid, p. 55.

[35] Ibid, p. 55.

[36] Ibid, p. 53.

[37] Ibid, 148.

The marketplace article in *Texas Law Review* argued that the trusteeship model under which broadcasting had been regulated in the past was no longer viable and needed to be replaced with a system under which the marketplace determined the public interest.[38] The paper's thesis declared that the conception of broadcasters as trustees needed to be replaced by the establishment of the broadcaster as a marketplace participant.

Fowler and Brenner developed the marketplace concept under the First Amendment, criticizing the scarcity argument and other justifications for the trusteeship model. The authors called for scraping all content-based regulation, specifically recommending that the Commission seek the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine and the equal time rules. Content regulation was, the authors said, "Fundamentally at odds with the first amendment [sic] status of broadcasting."[39]

Another article co-authored by Brenner, "Broadcasters' Burdens," appearing in the *New York Times* in November 1981, though published before the *Texas Law Review* piece, emphasized many of the same points.[40] It was written, however, in layperson's terms. By simplifying the fairness issue, Fowler and Brenner were able to frame it in a way that made it appear as through the government was interfering with the expression of ideas in the marketplace, rather than facilitating them. Government enforcement of a standard that required the balanced presentation of ideas was a good idea, but when the government got involved, the authors said, it was "problematical and inhibiting."[41]

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[38] Mark S. Fowler and David L. Brenner, "A Marketplace Approach to Broadcast Regulation," *Texas Law Review* 60, no. 2 (1982): 207-257.

[39] Ibid, p. 256.

[40] Mark Fowler and Daniel Brenner, "Broadcasters' Burdens," *New York Times*, 10 November 1982, A-31.

[41] Ibid, p. A-31.

A Fowler-authored *Washington Post* commentary published around the same time reinforced the now persistent First Amendment theme.[42] Fowler explained the Commission's request to Congress to repeal the doctrine, arguing the necessity for a similar standard for the electronic and print mediums. The Fairness Doctrine, explained Fowler, amounted to censorship in violation of the First Amendment. Fowler also expressed his concern over the use of an arm of the government, the FCC, as a mediator in the free speech arena.

Although Fowler had begun a crusade to abolish the doctrine, he said it was not the principle of fairness he was against, but rather having government in the business of determining what was fair. Covering controversial issues was what the business of news was all about. However, said Fowler, those decisions are better left to journalists and editors, not the FCC.[43] Fowler said he was willing to put up with the mistakes and abuses of a free press rather than one regulated by the government. "In the long run we are better off with a free press, even if it isn't always a fair press."[44]

In summary, during Fowler's first two years in office he revealed the arguments he would use over the course of his term to discredit the doctrine. He made a strong case, using an absolutist interpretation of the First Amendment to support his contention that the Commission should not be in the business of regulating broadcast content. Fowler was consistent. His speeches and articles, though they started low key and did not specifically mention the Fairness Doctrine by name at first, eventually evolved into a clear condemnation of not only the doctrine, but the trusteeship model of broadcast regulation.

Reaction to Fowler's policy objectives was limited, with the most critical appearing in a *U.S. News and Word Report* editorial. The Commission had submitted to Congress a request to eliminate both the Fairness Doctrine and rules that govern political campaigns, however, both HR-5584 and HR-5585[45] would have a tough time in the legislature and eventually fail. None-the-less, Fowler had made a head-on assault on the Doctrine that would both continue, and meet resistance, as he approached mid-term.

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[42] Mark S. Fowler, "Freedom of (Electronic) Speech," *Washington Post*, 20 September 1981, C7.

[43] Mark S. Fowler, "Congress Shall Make No Law..," *Channels*, October 1982, 54.

[44] Ibid, p. 55.

The Middle Years: 1983-1985

In May 1993, appearing before an industry group, Fowler was pausing to reflect on what "we" had accomplished and where to go next, a reference that would increasingly indicate his identification, if not outright alliance, with the broadcast industry[46] Speaking before the Communications Network 1983 Conference in New Orleans, the FCC Chairman reiterated that his course was set for a regulation free marketplace in which ideas would flourish unfettered by government. He acknowledged that the journey was going to be a long one, but stressed he had a blueprint to guide him. His analogy was to the eye of a hurricane, with which he was familiar having grown up in Florida. He envisioned himself in the middle of the winds of change. The "winds of reregulation, deregulation, unregulation, and nonregulation"[47] had, he said, changed the landscape. There was, however, still work to be done.

The course Fowler had selected for his deregulatory quest would not be a smooth one. As criticism of Fowler's direction commenced, it came on several fronts. One of the most critical was in the form of a barrage from *New Republic* magazine writer Marc Granetz.[48]

The Granetz article was highly critical. It construed what was happening under the Reagan administration as dangerous and shortsighted. Fowler, Granetz said, was doing too much too quickly. The article took issue with the scarcity argument, saying it did not invalidate the current regulatory structure. The new technologies, including cable TV, had not yet reached a point where they made a difference. Granetz said new technologies did not provide more outlets for expression. Furthermore, less regulation would translate into increased monopoly ownership of what outlets there were. The rich and powerful, said Granetz, would continue to control expression. Moreover, broadcasting had attained a pervasive presence in the lives of Americans. The premises upon which broadcast regulation was based remained intact, argued Granetz, making Fowler's drive to eliminate regulation unjustified.

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[45] Mark S. Fowler, "Free the Broadcasting 10,000," *Vital Speeches* 49(1 December 1982): 103-107.

[46] Mark Fowler, "Remarks of Mark S. Fowler, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Before the Oregon Association of Broadcasters," Address (Newport, Oregon, 12 June, 1981), Eric ED207088.

[47] Ibid, p. 418.

[48] Marc Granetz, "Fowler's Video Games," *New Republic* 188(2 May 1983): 15-18.

Fowler's brand of unregulation was ideological, wrote Granetz. Free speech protected not just speakers, but listeners. The freedom that was being sought by broadcasters was the freedom to increase their profits. Granetz accused Fowler of waving the First Amendment Flag for financial, rather than constitutional reasons.

U.S. News & World Report referred to Fowler as the "mad monk of deregulation" in a September 1983 profile of what was happening at various administrative agencies under the Reagan administration's government reform program.[49] The FCC Chairman was quoted as taking an absolutist approach in regard to government attempts to control content in broadcasting. Mention is made of Fowler's unsuccessful attempts in Congress to repeal the Doctrine and equal time laws, about which House Subcommittee Telecommunications staff director David Aylward, said "are not going anywhere."[50]

If what the press was saying about Fowler was having any affect on him, Fowler did not acknowledge it publically. During an address before a meeting of the International Radio and Television Society in New York on September 21, Fowler said the press had been fair in covering the Commission over the last two years.[51] "The words have not always been sweet, but they generally have been accurate."[52]

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[49] "Reagan's Regulators-their Fire is Flickering," *U.S. News & World Report* 95(26 September 1983): 51.

[50] Ibid, p. 52.

[51] Mark S. Fowler. "The Boom Goes Bust, the Bust Goes Boom," *Communications and the Law*, June 1984, 23-29.

An early mention of one of Fowler's most distinguished statements, that television is "just another appliance. It's a toaster with pictures," appears in a November 1983 *Time* magazine article about the Chairman.[53] *Time* was quick to pick up on Fowler's new public interest philosophy in which "the public's interest determine the public interest."[54] Fowler's detractors are quoted as interpreting the Chairman's deregulatory philosophy of letting the marketplace decide into "let the industry decide." [55] The former Chairman of the FCC, Charles Ferris, doubted his successor's scarcity argument, saying scarcity is still a factor in broadcasting because not everyone can participate in expression over the medium.

Fowler's detractors were beginning to capture almost as much media attention as he was as mid term approached. Fowler's all out deregulatory enthusiasm caught the attention of the Washington establishment, where, said *Fortune*, "going all-out tends to be a losing game."[56] Fowler had taken the FCC from being a backstage agency and thrust it into the limelight. Despite his high energy personality, some said he had weak political skills. The nicknames persisted. One staff member on Capitol hill referred to Fowler as a "deregulatory maniac."[57] The *Fortune* article said Fowler had been a loser when it came to the big issues.

But Fowler saw it differently and told the National Association of Broadcasters at the 1984 convention in Las Vegas that the new broadcast marketplace of the future would be characterized by freedom.[58] Fowler gave a progress report on what his Commission had accomplished, identifying the Fairness Doctrine issue as one issue that had become a "battlefield for legal scholarship," that might just "crack wide open" the justification for regulating radio and television content.[59] The word was out, said Fowler, that the public interest, not a regulator's whim, was now determining the public interest, "And there's no going back."[60] He said there would be no more finger wagging at the FCC, referring to the paternalistic way in which Fowler thought the FCC had regulated broadcasters in the past.

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[52] Ibid, p. 25.

[53] Stengel, "Evangelist of the Marketplace," p. 58.

[54] Ibid, p. 53.

[55] Ibid, p. 53.

[56] Craig Carter, "Why the FCC Chairman Loses the Big Battles," *Fortune* 109(5 March 1984): 113.

[57] Ibid, p. 113.

However, with freedom came responsibility. In an admonishment characteristic of FCC Chairman Newton Minnow's "Vast Wasteland" speech to the same broadcast group 23 years earlier, Fowler attacked television news. He said overaggressive reporting had spawned a disregard for facts. TV reporting techniques had become questionable, with some news reporters slipping into practices that bordered on being gruesome. He called for the industry to police itself and to "ride herd on news directors when their programs look less like Huntley and Brinkley and more like Barnum and Bailey."[61] Broadcasters needed to assume more responsibility for what they put over the air to "get it right."[62] Later, Fowler would say his criticism reflected "grumblings around the country."[63] Despite qualifying his remarks before the NAB, his criticism of television news continued in a *Washington Post* article two months later.

If these were signs that the honeymoon between the broadcast industry and the

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[58] Mark S. Fowler, "Freedom: from 9:00 Eastern to 6:00 Pacific, from Sea to Shining Sea," Speech before the National Association of Broadcasters, Las Vegas, Nevada, May 2, 1984.

[59] Ibid, p. 4.

[60] Ibid, p. 5.

[61] Ibid, p. 10.

[62] Ibid, p. 10.

[63] Ibid, p. 11.

Chairmanship was ending, they continued into other domains that Fowler addressed as his term wore on. Children's television was another area where broadcasters, said Fowler, had a duty to conduct themselves responsibly. Recognizing that stations, especially in larger markets, continued to enjoy handsome profits, Fowler encouraged them to invest what they harvested from their investments in better TV programs, facilities, and environments for workers. Referencing the bible, Fowler said, "as you sow, so shall you reap."[64]

Fowler's remarks again attracted the attention of *U.S. News and World Report* editor Marvin Stone.[65] Stone saw Fowler's "freedom speech" to the NAB as implying that freedom meant freedom for broadcasters to do as they saw fit, regardless of what was best for the public. He urged readers to express their sentiments to the FCC before the Commission wrecked what was left of public safeguards on the broadcast industry.

Still, Fowler persisted with another article in the *Washington Post*, which addressed his critics.[66] In the *Post* article, Fowler attempted to explain why a conservative Republican such as himself would call for less, rather than more regulation in a broadcast medium which many conservatives viewed as biassed against their cause. Fowler said he thought it constitutionally appropriate as a conservative to support less, not more press restraint. However, his staunch conservative supporters though it inconsistent in view of the liberal bias they saw in the media.

Summarizing the middle of Fowler's term as Chairman of the FCC found him in the midst of a relentless crusade against government heavy-handedness in broadcasting, with the Fairness Doctrine the centerpiece of his deregulatory philosophy. Critics had responded to the Fowler plan, attacking it as excessive. Fowler himself was being assailed as extreme in his actions, to the point were references were regularly made to his "maniac" like tendencies. It was a period during which his policies met with resistance on a number of fronts. Fowler had begun to criticize the very industry, the NAB, that he needed to realize his regulatory agenda. He had also met with flack from conservatives who saw the Fairness Doctrine as a mechanism that helped keep a perceived liberal media bias from dominating news coverage, which had turned ostensibly hostile. It was a time for reflecting and moving ahead into an era in which timing would prove to be everything.

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[64] "Bad Show," *Time* 123(14 May 1984): 56.

[65] Marvin Stone, "Will TV Run Our Lives?," *U.S. News & World Report* 96(18 June 1984): 80.

[66] Fowler, "Broadcasting with Less Restraint", p. A27.

The Later Years: 1985-1987

The most significant condemnation of the Fairness Doctrine during Fowler's term as Chairman was the 1985 Fairness Report.[67] The report, hardly a surprise in view of Fowler's efforts to discontinue the doctrine, said that the doctrine was a bad idea, but the Commission was powerless to do anything to get rid of it because it was law, not policy. The Commission would continue to enforce its provisions, despite their questionable constitutionality, until such a time as Congress could, or would, act to repeal it. The Commission's denunciation of the doctrine was an extensive, point by point analysis of many of the same arguments Fowler had made for its discontinuance over the course of his Chairmanship.

At the end of the report, Fowler attached a personal statement about its findings, using his now familiar reference to John Peter Zinger to drive home his point that tradition was behind the right of the people to criticize their government. Additionally, he added the rhetoric of Justice William O. Douglass, an outspoken critic of the Fairness Doctrine, to illustrate how the doctrine acted as a "federal saddle on broadcast licenses."[68] The advancement of First Amendment rights had been a priority in his Chairmanship, said Fowler. The report was "an indictment of a misguided government policy."[69]

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[67] In the Matter of Inquiry Into Section 73.1910 of the Commission's Rules and Regulations Concerning the General Fairness Doctrine Obligations of Broadcast Licensees, 102 F.C.C. 2d, 143-249. (1985 Fairness Report).

[68] Ibid, p. 252.

Even before the 1985 Fairness Report, the criticism continued to mount. *Business Week's* cover story two days before the report was adopted questioned whether the FCC had gone too far in its deregulatory binge.[70] Fowler's desire to find a test case to bring before the Supreme Court is disclosed, as is a hint that the upcoming report will conclude that the Commission lacks the statutory authority to do anything about the doctrine. The article also speaks of the legend that Fowler had become for his intense efforts to free the industry of regulation. Said Representative Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colorado), "Fowler could go down in history as an extraordinarily important chairman if he'd call off the ideological patrols." [71]

Back for another speech before the International Radio Television Society in New York in September of 1985, Fowler acknowledged that some thought he had pushed the marketplace too far in his zeal to deregulate.[72] However, Fowler said he was doing so in the interest of advancing freedom, something he hoped his Chairmanship would be remembered for.

The press continued to hound Fowler, some of the criticism turning sharp. Bernard Nossiter of *The Nation* wrote that the Reagan FCC had betrayed the public welfare by "enriching the owners of radio and television stations by scrapping the regulations designed to make broadcasters public trustees."[73] Fowler was described as a pro-industry communications lawyer who would resume his lucrative practice when the left the FCC. The "toaster with pictures" analogy came back to haunt Fowler as well. Some thought it was an indication of Fowler's lack of understanding of the public interest concept, under which the airways belong to the public. Nossiter attributed Fowler's unsuccessful efforts to get Congress to repeal the Fairness Doctrine to Congressional fear that ending it would make them targets for politically outspoken television outlets. Nossiter said analogizing broadcast to print was false. Broadcasters enjoy profits only because the government protects their license to use the radio spectrum. It amounted, said Nossiter, to clientielism.

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[69] Ibid, p. 252.

[70] John Wilke, "Has the FCC Gone too Far:," *Business Week*, 5 August 1985, 48-54.

[71] Ibid, p. 53.

[72] Mark S. Fowler, "The Generation of New Choice," Address by Mark S. Fowler, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission Before the International Radio Television Society, New York, New York., (24 September, 1985), 6.

[73] Bernard Nossiter, "The F.C.C.'s Big Giveaway Show," *The Nation* 241(26 October 1985): 402.

With his term approaching an end in June 1986, a *Broadcasting Magazine* interview painted a picture of a weary Chairman.[74] Fowler said he did not enjoy being Chairman, but found the job very satisfying. His top aide, Daniel Brenner, had found employment outside the agency and speculation was that Fowler himself would be stepping down soon. Fowler continued, however, to stay on. In his April 1986 address to the National Association of Broadcasters, he explained to television executives that the Commission had again asked Congress to repeal the Fairness Doctrine and equal time laws. He told broadcasters to stop worrying about how things were going at the FCC and to concentrate on how things looked, and sounded, on the air. For the most part, it was the same Fowler and the same rhetoric: less government and more marketplace.[75]

Critics were increasingly assailing the Fowler arguments. Les Brown of *Channels* said "no other FCC chairman in history has suffered such delusions of grandeur," as Fowler when it came to the role the Chairman thought he occupied as a censor.[76] Brown described Fowler as a minor bureaucrat who viewed his duties as extravagant. In response to Fowler's belief that the elimination of the doctrine would encourage broadcasters to cover controversial issues because they would no longer be forced to cover opposing viewpoints, Brown said, "If Fowler and his commissioners really believe that...they also believe in the tooth fairy." [77] The Fairness Doctrine, said Brown, had no chilling effect worth mentioning. Fowler, said Brown, had misrepresented the government's role in broadcasting.

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[74] "Mark Fowler at the Crossroads," *Broadcasting*, 14 April 1986, 42.

[75] Mark S. Fowler, "Freedom in Broadcasting," Speech before the National Association of Broadcasters, Dallas Convention Center, Dallas, Texas, April 16, 1986.

[76] Les Brown, "The Public Eye," *Channels* 6(May): 19.

Yet Fowler was persistent. Appearing before a college audience in Radford, Virginia in April 1986, Fowler continued to advocate the print model for the broadcast industry. He said the doctrine, which he described as obnoxious, "absolutely chills free speech," putting broadcasters in a "deep freeze."[78] The doctrine had the effect of silencing dissident voices because, he said, radio and television stations were not willing to cover public issues for fear that the government would force them to present the other side. The result was that broadcasters were avoiding public interest issues altogether.

The language of the Radford University speech was similar, and in whole sections identical, to the "The Generation of a New Choice," presentation Fowler gave before the International Radio Television Society seven months earlier in New York City. [79] Fowler's use of analogy to describe his deregulatory philosophy was becoming legendary. His "popcorn principle" is an example.

Fowler liked to compare the new hot air popcorn poppers to the old method of popping popcorn that used oil. With the new method, without oil, or as Fowler was fond of saying, without regulation, the new method produced a large quantity of popcorn that was remarkable for the size of the container. The oil that was once needed was no longer necessary. Similarly, said Fowler, remove heavy government regulation and "our communications system still works; in fact, it works better."[80] It was an analogy well suited to explaining a complicated regulatory topic to a college audience, or for that matter, any other audience.

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[77] Ibid, p. 20.

[78] Mark S. Fowler, Speech at Radford University, April 8, 1986 (Radford, Virginia, 1986), Videotape.

[79] Fowler, "The Generation of a New Choice."

[80] Ibid.

His First Amendment theme also persisted, much like it had in earlier speeches where he placed his literalist interpretation upon the free speech clause. "Congress shall make no law, meant NO law."[81] His show at the FCC, which he said used to mean "The Federal Cannot Commission," had been changed to the F.N.P.C., the "Federal No Problem Commission." From here on out, the name of the show at the FCC would be the "Young and the Unregulated."[82]

Despite Fowler's repeated attempts to eliminate the doctrine, it had become clear that he was having no success, despite recommendations to Congress on two occasions to have it invalidated. What started as a priority at the Fowler Commission had grown into what some said was Fowler's "personal obsession."[83] *New Leader* magazine called the 1985 Commission inquiry into the doctrine "two days of carefully-orchestrated public hearings, supplemented by stacks of written comments from interested parties to buttress the Chairman's claim that the doctrine was unnecessary and philosophically distasteful.[84] It was the highpoint, said *New Leader*, of the Fowler anti-fairness offensive.

In June of 1986, the objections to Fowler's deregulatory philosophy moved to his own front yard at the FCC outside 1919 M Street.[85] The National Decency Forum (NDF) staged a series of protests to denounce the Fowler deregulatory message to industry to "go ahead and do anything you want."[86] Although staged in response to the Commission's inaction against broadcasters who aired indecent material, it was part of growing, and organized resistance to Fowler's renomination to the Commission by New Right groups who thought the Fowler libertarian agenda had gone too far. Some conservative groups thought the elimination of the doctrine would also eliminate their ability to respond to a liberal-biased media.

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[81] Ibid

[82] Ibid.

[83] Herbert Dorfman, "Fowler's Obsession: Fighting the Fairness Doctrine," *The New Leader*, 17 November 1986, 9-11.

[84] Henry Klingeman, "Fowler Play," *National Review* 38(21 November 1986): 30-31.

[85] Ibid, p. 31.

[86] Ibid, p. 31.

Fowler continued to retain the Chairmanship after his term expired at the request of the White House[87] with the expectation that he would serve out the remaining two years of the Reagan term. However, in January 1987, Fowler announced his plans to resign, without explanation, saying he would continue his deregulatory agenda and remain committed to the same principles that had become the hallmark of his administration until a successor could be found.[88]

Mark Fowler's March 1987 address before the National Association of Broadcasters was his last as Chairman of the Commission. It was his farewell speech, and true to farewell speech traditions it was reflective and emotional. Fowler spoke of leaks at the Commission, the rules of being a good FCC Commissioner, and the Fowler philosophy.[89] While the speech was not particularly revealing, it did embrace, in much the same rhetoric, the same First Amendment views Fowler had so consistently articulated throughout his term. Fowler said the American public had guided his efforts over the years and that his goal had been to make broadcasting as free as other media.

Fowler admitted that taking positions he had on issues such has the fairness doctrine had gotten him into a lot of trouble. However, said Fowler, he was not afraid to call the shots as he saw them. As he left the Commission, Fowler said he did not believe that broadcasters should be told what to cover, nor did the present system of broadcasting serve the public better than a free system of broadcasting would. The public trustee concept was a "stick that can beat your editorial freedom to a meely pulp and run you out of business. And it has."[90] "My point, is this. If you have a principled way of looking at the world, and you stick to it, you can go about doing your job with sincerity and conviction."[91]

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[87] "FCC Chairman Fowler Signing Off," *Broadcasting*, 19 January 1987, 75.

[88] Ibid, p. 41.

[89] Mark S. Fowler, "Freedom in Broadcasting," Speech Before the National Association of Broadcasters, Dallas Convention Center, Dallas, Texas, April 16, 1986.

[90] Ibid, p. 7.

Conclusion

If there is anything to be learned from the Fowler experience in Washington it perhaps can be summed up by one of the fundamental rules of Washington politics, "Everyone eventually goes, but Congress stays."[92] The Fowler portrait represents a valiant effort by one man to effect change in an environment that does not change easily, nor conventionally. Up against a Congress that was unwilling to do away with the Fairness Doctrine, Fowler won a number of battles, but ultimately lost the war.

The Fairness Doctrine did eventually fall, but it was a judge's interpretation of Congressional intent behind a 1959 statute that allowed it to occur. Fowler set the stage, untiringly arguing into the public record a series of rationales that would enable his successor, Dennis Patrick, to sweep the doctrine aside without the consent of Congress. In short, it was a matter of timing. Fowler was in the right place doing what he, and others, most notably the broadcast industry, thought was the right thing. Unfortunately, it was at the wrong time.

Throughout the past there have been people who have changed the course of history, for better or worse, as a result of their convictions about an idea or a philosophy. Their marks have been left, and chronicled, as testimony to the courage that remains a symbol of the American experiment in broadcasting.

Fowler's personal belief that the Fairness Doctrine was antithetical to the First Amendment is well documented. It was consistent with a prevailing political mandate that sought relief from governmental influence in society and followed a broader political shift to the right in American politics. Eliminating the Fairness Doctrine, while a means to a larger political end, was a personal matter for Fowler. It went back to his days as a young radio announcer and matured into an interpretation of the First Amendment, providing the primary drive behind his efforts to eliminate the doctrine.

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[91] Ibid, p. 8.

[92] Joel Swerdlow, "Life After Fowler," *Channels of Communication*, March 1987, 14.

The criticism Fowler encountered during his early efforts led to an entrenchment at midterm. Fowler found himself answering his critics publicly, having to provide rationales for why he thought the doctrine was unconstitutional. To support his cause, he turned to the framers of the Constitution and the likes of John Peter Zinger. He invoked the print model and raised the issue of government censorship. By taking a literalist view of the First Amendment, he was able to defend his position at the very source of press freedom. He also used analogy to simplify and support his softer approach.

The political climate was not ripe for what Fowler wanted to do. No matter how strong his motivation, which some in Washington said was brash, Congress was not ready to eliminate the doctrine. Fowler's overly aggressive approach alienated both the Washington establishment and the media. There was repeated criticism that Fowler was trying to do too much too soon. Despite his efforts, and as is true in the Washington political arena, politics takes precedence over individuals.

There can be no doubt about the significant role Fowler played in the deregulation of American broadcasting, which, consequently, will be remembered as a broadcast policy landmark. But as Fowler himself said in his farewell address to the National Association of Broadcasters, "if government policy is a pendulum, you can expect efforts to reverse course..It'll take courage to see the longer view, to see the role of the electronic press, radio and television, in the bigger picture of America." [93]

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[93] Ibid, p. 9.

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"The FCC: on a New Wavelength," *Business Week*, 25 May 1981, 172. Congress was irritated at the Ferris Commission's attempts at the structural deregulation of the broadcast industry. In an effort to check the power of the Commission, legislation was introduced in Congresses to limit the Commission's charter to three year renewal periods. No legislation, however, was ever passed.

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American Film Propaganda
in Revolutionary Russia

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Abstract

American Film Propaganda in Revolutionary Russia

After the revolution in Russia in 1917, President Wilson decided to have the United States conduct a propaganda campaign in that troubled country. The undertaking was given to George Creel's Committee on Public Information, and it was one of the CPI's most important operations. The highly regarded journalist Arthur Bullard, who was a recognized authority on international affairs, directed the campaign. It lasted through 1918 and the early months of 1919. To make it as effective as possible, the CPI decided to use motion pictures as a vital part of the operation. The story of this employment of American film propaganda has never been told in full; indeed, historians have tended to ignore it. Yet there is an extensive primary record available for studying it, one that this paper exploits as it explores an unheralded side of one of the most important propaganda efforts of the World War I era.

The paper pulls together all the basic elements of the campaign. It addresses these questions: 1) Why was American propaganda introduced in Russia? 2) Why was film propaganda employed? 3) How were the films deployed? 4) What films were displayed and for what purposes? 5) What significance can be drawn from this episode in propaganda? The last question has a particular historiographical significance, for it relates directly to the ongoing debate regarding President Wilson's attitude and policy toward the new Russia. The motion pictures used in the Russian campaign were employed for various propagandist purposes, but the most interesting of these was an ideological one. Consequently, the paper not only provides a fuller understanding of American overseas propaganda during World War I but also offers a valuable perspective on Russian-American relations during the turbulent revolutionary years in Russia.

American Film Propaganda in Revolutionary Russia

To the truism that modern wars are fought with words as well as weapons must be added "images," especially moving picture images. The fact, moreover, that motion pictures were used as vehicles of propaganda in this century's world wars comes as no surprise. World War I was, as is generally known, the struggle in which propaganda in its modern forms came of age, and it occurred at a time when the film was leaping forward as a popular mass medium of entertainment and journalism. Films, in fact, appeared as vehicles of war journalism in the turn of the century wars, but they were all limited conflicts.[1] World War I, in comparison, was a total war, and that made propaganda in all of its possible forms, an imperative dimension of warfare.

From the beginning of the war, all the major belligerents created propaganda organizations to unify and mobilize their own populations and to influence those beyond their borders. As the war acquired a character of totality, the effort to control and influence civilian populations grew in importance, as did the need to inspire a nation's own fighting forces and to demoralize those of enemy countries. For this reason, upon the entrance of the United States into the war in 1917, President Wilson ordered the formation of an American propaganda organization, the Committee on Public Information (CPI or Compub), and appointed George Creel, a liberal journalist and ardent Wilson supporter to head it.

Creel called the CPI's work "a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world's greatest adventure in advertising."[2] Any comprehensive study of CPI operations confirms the truth of that claim, for CPI saturated this nation with its material and extended its foreign outreach across Europe, Latin America, and parts of Asia. Considering how important relations were among the nations fighting the Central Powers, it is surprising that the international operations of the CPI have attracted little scholarly notice. Attention to its work in Russia is a case in point.[3] Just a month before the American entrance into the war, Russia experienced its first revolution of 1917 with the toppling of the Czarist regime, and after months of maneuvering and confrontation by various forces within that country a second revolution, the Bolshevik revolution, occurred in October, establishing a communist regime in Petrograd (i.e., St. Petersburg) and Moscow. The Bolsheviks, however, had to fight a two and a half year civil war to gain control of and spread their revolution across the remainder of the old imperial Russia. The revolutionary state of affairs in Russia had a great impact on all the major warring nations who perceived the fate of Russia in revolution as crucial to their own hope for victory or fear of defeat. For this reason, both the Allied and Central Powers tried to influence and guide events and persuasions in Russia for the remainder of the war.

News of the end of the Czarist regime and the establishment of a Russian Republic headed by a Provisional government on March 15 exhilarated the Western Allies. The United States, then drifting ever closer to entering the war, greeted the fall of the Czarist autocracy, in the words of George Kennan, as "a political upheaval in the old American spirit: republican, liberal, antimonarchial,"[4] and became the first nation to extend official recognition to the new Russia. With the U. S. entrance into the war a month later, pressure mounted immediately for her to become involved in Russian affairs by means of economic or military assistance. Pressure also grew for the United States to inaugurate a publicity campaign in Russia. That campaign began in European Russia toward the end of 1917 and later shifted to Siberia where it was terminated in March 1919.

Although it was one of the CPI's most important and difficult assignments, the Russian operation has attracted only slight attention from historians.[5] Those especially interested in film have paid even less attention to the use the Compub's Russian team made of motion picture propaganda, yet it played a large role in their work.[6] There is, however, an extensive record of the CPI's Russian campaign, and it yields answers to five questions about the use of propaganda and especially film as propaganda in Russia. 1) Why was there the need for American propaganda there? 2) Why was film an important vehicle for communicating that propaganda? 3) How were motion pictures deployed by the CPI in Russia? 4) What films were used and what messages were conveyed? 5) What significance can be derived from the utilization of film in the Russian campaign? It is the purpose of this paper to address these questions. The major focus will be on the place of film propaganda in the Russian operation, but the logical point of departure lies in explaining why it was necessary to have an American propaganda campaign in Revolutionary Russia.

Why Propaganda?

It is interesting to note that the demand for American publicity in Russia decidedly predated the much heralded Allied and American military interventions in Russia beginning in 1918. The latter occurred at Murmansk and Archangel, the White Sea ports in northern Russia, at Vladivostok, Russia's Pacific port in Eastern Siberia, and at few places on the Black and Caspian Seas. The British began their intervention in the White Sea area on March 7, 1918, and Americans joined in the operations there on September 4. The Allied and American intervention in Siberia began on August 16, 1918. Although the Americans and Allies hoped for a victory of the White forces in the Russian Civil War then mounting, their intervention was an adjunct operation to the European war then entering its most desperate phase in the West. The interventions hardly represent the capitalist inspired effort of "imperialist beast of prey" as Soviet authorities claimed then and later.[7] It can be assumed that once they landed some steps would be taken to publicize justification of their presence. The American propaganda campaign, however, began in Russia a full year before, in the summer of 1917, and following the interventions a year later, it never focused in large part upon them. The reasons for the propaganda campaign lie elsewhere.

In the first instance, Allied propaganda was introduced in St. Petersburg and Moscow in order to bolster Russian morale and good opinion of the Allies. While it is true that by the end of 1914 it became apparent that Russia lacked the power to defeat the German armies moving against her, the maintenance of the Russian Eastern front remained an imperative concern for the Allies. Yet as defeat followed defeat for Russia, her will to continue the war wavered. By the opening of 1917, few Russians believed that victory was possible and socialist agitators distributing anti-war propaganda filled the streets. Even greater peril awaited the war effort. The March Revolution not only toppled the corrupt and inefficient Czarist regime but also, especially at the popular level, protested continuing the war.[8] Still the Allies hoped that Russia would not withdraw from the war, and thus allowed the German armies to concentrate on the Western front. The Germans, of course, hoped for just the opposite, and they endeavored to use propaganda in Russia for their cause as circumstances allowed. During 1917 and 1918, Allied and American observers attuned to the Russian scene repeatedly spoke of the need to counter German propaganda there. Indeed, for centuries many Germans had migrated to Russia, and when the war came, the Russian government attempted to gather up these people of German origin and concentrate them in towns across the empire where they could be watched. They had, however, a great amount of freedom in these towns, and many of them either were lukewarm toward the Russian war effort or were actually German sympathizers. Shortly after the war, Malcolm W. Davis, one of the CPI's men in Russia, recalled that "Russia and Siberia were honeycombed with German sympathizers" in part as a result of the way they were treated during the war.[9] The people who urged President Wilson to launch a publicity campaign in Russia repeatedly referred to the need to counter this widespread German propaganda.

President Wilson also had a British factor to consider. Prior to the inauguration of American propaganda in Russia, the British were the most active of the Allies engaged in the field. Responding to the deterioration of Russian morale, in February 1916 they decided to initiate official propaganda in St. Petersburg under the direction of Hugh Walpole and Harold Williams and at Moscow under Bruce Lockhart.[10] Their efforts continued through 1917, but by that time they were encountering difficulty. It was in June of that year that the British alerted our State Department of the situation with this message: "The United States is the best situated country from which to organize a counter-propaganda. The Germans have been able to make the Russian people somewhat suspicious of the aims of the French and English. . . ."[11] In fact, after the failure of the Gallipoli campaign and the Irish Easter Uprising of 1916, Russian confidence in the British had waned,[12] thus allowing German and Russian anti-war propaganda more opportunity for exploitation. Circumstances had opened the war for the introduction of American propaganda into Russia, and Secretary of State Robert Lansing was emphatic about the making of that effort. "I feel no stone should be left unturned to counteract the German propaganda which is being carried on there [in Russia]."[13]

Before he could act, President Wilson believed he needed information. Accordingly, just two months after the United States entered the war, he sent a good will mission to Russia headed by the distinguished statesman Elihu Root. Its purpose was to spur on the Russian war effort and to appraise the situation in Russia. The commission's report urged the Wilson administration to wage a propaganda campaign in Russia. When George Creel analyzed the report for Wilson, he concluded that the work should be "done well and done quickly." He also recommended that the State Department should not be involved in the work as the report had suggested. It was a job for the CPI.[14]

As discussion about the shape and nature of the American propaganda campaign continued, Arthur Bullard made his way to Russia on his own. The case of Bullard is significant to the remainder of our inquiry. He was a journalist by profession, an idealist in temperament, and liberal-socialist in political preference. Bullard admired Wilson and was one of Colonel House's trusted political correspondents. He was a foremost international journalist and he sympathized with the cause of democracy in Russia, a country he had visited and studied on several occasions, including during the Revolution of 1905. Bullard was a man of considerable knowledge and political depth, one who won and held the confidence of his associates. With our entrance into the war, he joined Creel in Washington, working for the CPI. Although he narrowly missed going to Russia on the Root Commission due to the obstinateness of Secretary of State Lansing, Bullard was determined to go there on his own if necessary.[15] At one point he suggested a plan to the government for him to establish an office in Petrograd for gathering news for the United States and for distributing American ideas there. Wilson refused to support that scheme because, as Creel told Bullard, he was "more interested in getting American ideas into Russia than in getting Russian news to America."[16] Still he managed to get to Russia where he engaged in publicity work on a limited scale by assisting Maddin Summers, the American consul general in Moscow, during the summer and fall of 1917.

By then the question no longer centered on the merits of a propaganda campaign in Russia. That had been determined. President Wilson himself spoke in a matter of fact way about "making our plans for the enlightenment of Russia."[17] The question now focused on the content and form the American publicity should take. Regarding content, an ideological element was clearly surfacing in considerations of what should be publicized. For instance, Charles Edward Russell, the former muckraker who was a member of the Root mission, was especially forceful in his advocacy of the propaganda campaign. "The Russian army is now nothing but a reflex of the

Russian people," he argued. "The trouble is that at the present the average Russian sees nothing in the war that appeals to the soul in him. The war was made by the Czar; that mere fact prejudices the average Russian against it." Neither did he believe that the typical Russian felt an obligation to the Allies or to the pledge of the old regime to the Allies. The Russians, however, did acknowledge the "duty of a democrat to fight for democracy." "I write to beg therefore, " Russell concluded, "that the education campaign carried on by this country in Russia be carefully directed along these lines. . . . [and addressed] to the Russian's passion for democracy." If the Russians could be convinced that their revolution was in peril, they would willingly continue to fight.[18] To this Wilson responded, "I deeply appreciate your letter. It runs along lines of my own thought, only you speak from knowledge and I have thought by inference, and you may be sure that I will do my best to act along the lines it suggests."[19] Commenting on Russell's appeal, Wilson told Creel, "Here is a very important letter which I wish you would read and inwardly digest. It seems to me to hit very near the heart of the subject it is concerned with."[20] The effort to keep Russia in the war and to counter German propaganda would now include an ideological component.

Why Propaganda by Film?

There was still the matter of methods to consider, and from the first Wilson was urged to make the use of film central to the operation. P. A. Strachan, who had been connected with various theatrical enterprises, prepared a ten-page memorandum on the subject for the president. "MOTION PICTURES, having become the medium of international expression and speaking a universal language, have in this instance, possibilities for extending the political power and prestige of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, at the same time acting as an educational and political guide to the missions of Russians, whose ideals, under their new form of democratic government, are as yet in the formative stage," he argued. "MOTION PICTURES can show these people the manifold advantage of a democratic government, particularizing on the progress made, along political and industrial lines." Strachan had in mind a "monster picture" composed of parts from existing relevant films to counter "Kaiser Wilhelm's plans for world domination" and to serve as an instrument for "visualizing American progress." A message from President Wilson to the

Russian people could introduce the film, which would feature scenes of American cities, industries, resources, and military preparedness. The finale should be a cartoon of the United States and Russia together fighting "the hydra-headed monster, Prussianism" with the caption, HANDS ACROSS THE SEA."[21] Strachan's spirited appeal did not stand alone.

When the Root Commission returned, it also urged the film be used in conjunction with other instruments of propaganda. George Creel critiqued the commission's report for Wilson, and he too recognized the potential of using film in Russia. Although he raised questions about most of the suggestions the report advanced regarding the means to use for propaganda in Russia, he advised Wilson that employing films for this purpose was a "proper and necessary activity."[22]

Individual members of the commission also made the case for film propaganda to Wilson. Charles Edward Russell pushed for the use of film in his appeal to Wilson. Along with printed appeals, he said that film "relating the struggle for democracy elsewhere, picturing the heroes of democracy and their sacrifices and leading up to the present struggle as the final battle in a long conflict" would be the most useful media to employ.[23] Among others who perceived the value of film propaganda was John R. Mott, another member of the Root Commission, who reported to Secretary Lansing: "The reason why we called particular attention to American films is the fact that the Russians themselves whom we consulted expressed to us the strong desire that large use be made of American films. They deem it very important that we acquaint the Russian civil and military population with American life and that we bring vividly before them America's part in this War and that we seek to assure them that America has identified herself with them in the great struggle."[24]

There was, of course, a convincing logic behind these appeals for using film media. Motion pictures were popular in Russia even before the war, and to a war weary people and to combat troops they would be entertaining as well as instructional. They could be shown over and over again, and by rewriting captions they could be made fully intelligible to educated Russians. Moreover, because of the high illiteracy rate in Russia, films could engage the masses as well as educated elites. Consequently, when the CPI began its operations in Russia in November 1917, films were prominently among the materials it would publicize and distribute.

The Deployment of Film Propaganda

Working inside Russia could never be considered an easy task, but during the time of the CPI's operation conditions prevailed to test the most determined of men. Its operations began during the very month of the Bolshevik revolution and would be caught up in the awesome swings of the subsequent Civil War. With the fall of the Provisional Government no one knew if the operation would even be permitted by the Bolsheviks then in power. As Russia then tumbled deeper into revolution, Bullard wrote from Moscow that "any newspaper or oratorical or cinematic campaign intended to influence the course of events here in the next few months is like shooting arrows at a thunderstorm." It is interesting to note that even at this point Bullard had misgivings about propaganda aimed simply at keeping Russia in the war. "I have felt from the first", he said, "that all our 'propaganda' . . . ought to be aimed at creating an impression of permanency. Constructing the basis for future friendship with Russia should be the focus of our efforts. The one great task for all who wish to make the world safe for democracy is to prevent a rapproachment between the imperialistically-minded. The diplomatic nightmare of the future is a new Dreikaiserbund—with perhaps a Mikado thrown in."[25] Regardless of exactly what the main focus of its operation might be, the CPI opened its Petrograd office in November 1917.

The CPI began its work in Petrograd under the close military control of the Bolsheviks Red Guard. Nevertheless, when Edgar Sisson arrived there to head the operation he found that it was possible to begin the publicity campaign. Bullard joined him from Moscow and became director of the Russian operation when Sisson returned to the United States on March 4. All during the winter of 1917-1918, the CPI was allowed to conduct itself without serious interference from the Bolsheviks, even after they raided and closed down the British operation late in December. Its output in terms of printed material represented an extraordinary effort. For instance, it managed to circulate over three million posters, handbills and pamphlets publicizing Wilson's Fourteen Points message of January 8.[26] No wonder that for this and other work through the printed media President Wilson sent his "congratulations . . . on great work done splendidly."[27] Film propaganda, however, was another matter.

Sisson arrived in Russia anxious to cover the country with properly selected American films. Meanwhile, Creel collected and sent him two shipments totaling a half million feet of film.[28] The shipments, however, never arrived. Due to the civil war that had erupted in Finland, they never moved beyond Sweden. Fortunately, the CPI's Guy Croswell Smith, who had arrived in Russia a few months early bringing with him some film at the request of the State Department, contacted Sisson. Smith came carrying a few reels of motion pictures, mainly one film entitled Uncle Sam Immigrant and another called The Presidential Procession in Washington. These would have to suffice. Uncle Sam Immigrant was retitled All for Peace and a large Petrograd theater was hired and bedecked with American flags. A gala opening evening complete with a large orchestra playing "The Star Spangled Banner" was arranged for the American ambassador, his staff, members of our military mission there and others. The films were shown for a fortnight and then were sent traveling.[29] Beyond this CPI personnel showed a few other films that they somehow managed to secure, but no concerted film effort could be made.

The use of film propaganda failed to develop beyond this meager start at this stage in the CPI's Russian campaign. Circumstances never allowed it. In March the Russians signed a separate treaty with Germany at Brest-Litovsk, and exited from the war as the Germans occupied the Ukraine. Fearing for their safety, Compub ordered Bullard and his staff out of Russia in May. They left, just as the major hostilities of Civil War between the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolshevik forces got underway. Creel, however, wanted the CPI's Russian operations to continue and ordered it to resume its efforts 5,000 miles to the east at Vladivostok. Bullard would circle the globe to reach that eastern Siberian city.

Actually, Bullard began to prepare for the bureau's shift to Siberia already in April when he dispatched two of his able assistants, Malcolm Davis and William Adams Brown, Jr. across the Trans-Siberian Railway. When the situation grew dangerous there, he ordered them to Harbin in Manchuria. These two resourceful men exceeded the broader purpose of their journey, to survey the conditions in Siberia as a potential for publicity work there, and actually initiated that work. They began to circulate materials by the tens of thousands in Omsk, Irkutsk, Chita and a few other Siberian cities along the Trans-Siberian line.[30] Then they left for Harbin. So even before Bullard arrived in Siberia, it is clear that the CPI had every intention of continuing its Russian work there.

Before going to Siberia, Bullard had to return to the United States to confer with CPI headquarters and to recruit additional personnel.[31] Increasingly, he now contemplated the value of film propaganda. When he sailed for Japan en route to Siberia in August, he had two men with him, H. Y. Barnes and George Bothwell, to head his designated Motion Picture Section, and a shipment of over a quarter of a million feet of film was assembled to follow.[32] Crossing the Pacific he reflected, "The most interesting work [while in the United States] was learning something about the Motion Picture Industry. They [motion pictures] are a very important means of propaganda everywhere, but especially so in a land of illiterates like Russia."[33]

Prior to Bullard's arrival, the CPI activities in Manchuria and Eastern Siberia were underway. Wilbur H. Hart had been sent to China to survey the field for film distribution, and he pushed on into eastern Siberia to make a preliminary appraisal of how to make the most effective use of motion pictures there.[34] The two men, Malcolm Davis and William Adams Brown, who Bullard had dispatched from Petrograd to cross Russia by the Trans-Siberian Railway, had worked their way to Harbin, Manchuria already by July. They found a consignment of films awaiting them there and immediately began to show them in Harbin's theaters and arranged to present them "on the Manchuria circuit up as far as the Russian border."[35] Much more film and equipment was needed for a major film effort to be made, and Bullard arrived early in September ready to make that effort a central feature of the propaganda campaign to be inaugurated in Siberia.

Whether conducted by means of the print or film media, that campaign had to struggle against the most severe difficulties. Not since the fall of the Provisional government ten months before had any semblance of order existed there. At one time or another in 1918, nineteen different groups claimed legitimate authority in Eastern Siberia. The area was a nest of rumors and alive with Bolshevik, Japanese, and German propaganda. Bolshevik agitators were busy across the land, and the arrival of Russian refugees fleeing the Reds in the West heightened unrest. Food shortage was serious; famine, possible. A Czech force of close to 70,000 men fighting its way across the Trans-Siberian Railway complicated matters more.[36] Then, shortly before Bullard arrived, 7,000 American troops landed at Vladivostok as part of the Allied interventionist forces. Those in charge of publicity would have to explain the presence of American troops there as part of whatever else they did.[37] Communications and transportation throughout Siberia were precarious, and there was a great competition for those that functioned at all. Supplies, facilities, and the Russian personnel upon whom the CPI depended were scarce. Amid all these circumstances, the Compub men knew that they would have to confront the fact of Siberian weather in the months ahead, something that could affect and disrupt their production and distribution of materials.

Nevertheless, Bullard established the CPI base in Vladivostok and began the campaign in earnest. Soon the CPI was active not only in and around Vladivostok but also westward across Siberia to Irkutsk, Omsk, and then on to Ekaterinburg, thousands of miles away on the eastern slopes of the Ural mountains. Working amid the swirling and dangerous political tides sweeping through Siberia and overcoming problems of scarce resources, poor and crowded rail lines, and hardly adequate working facilities, these Compub men managed to produce and circulate a Daily Bulletin, a weekly publication called the Friendly Word, and various pamphlets and handbills. No less impressive was their film enterprise.

In the case of film propaganda, it took both determination and imagination to make it succeed. The existing motion picture houses were in poor condition. Their equipment was in need of repair and there was little hope of replacing it. Film exchanges had almost disappeared from the area. Laboratory space needed for making titles or captions in Russian could only be found after weeks of searching and negotiations with local authorities. Running water and a sewage system were essential for the laboratory to function, but they were almost unknown in Vladivostok. When the Compub men managed to build a water and sewage system of their own, it remained at the mercy of city authorities who could turn off the water supply at will. Neither did equipment for composing the Russian titles exist. They had to be improvised. Chemicals and materials for the operation had to be imported from Japan and usually arrived damaged. Bullard had to employ about thirty local workers to help in the production, but "only one in the whole bunch ever saw a motion picture before." Much of the credit for overcoming these difficulties belongs to George Bothwell. Although Bullard observed he was "as temperamental as an opera singer," he had a genius for directing the technical elements of the film operation.[38]

Under these circumstances, the operation managed to turn out about 2500 feet of titles (i. e., captions) of film every day plus a number of still and some motion pictures. The converted films were shown in and around Vladivostok in various theaters and schools. Local assemblies, the Zemstvos, and economic institutions, co-operative societies, supported the effort and eased the problems of distribution. When the films were taken to towns and villages in the region, the Compub men supplied projectors, generators, and "speelers," who were needed since many people in the audiences were illiterate.[39] In this manner, the film operation proceeded and grew. Plans were underway to expand it across Siberia when the entire campaign ended in March 1919.

The Films Displayed and Their Purpose

The types of films shown is informative. They included dramas, comedies, scenic films, war pictures, newsreels, and educational pictures.[40] Among the dramas were some of the popular silent films of the era, The Conquest of Canaan, The Deemster, The Isle of Regeneration, Thais, The Witching Hour, and The White Raven. They were offered for their entertainment value and to attract audiences to the CPI's other film presentation. These old melodramas were known for their beautiful photography and their human, often romantic appeal.[41] Several depicted German sabotage efforts, typical of the genre of anti-German films that played upon American emotions during the war. The Eagle's Eye and Inside the Lines exemplified pictures of that type.[42] Comedy films were short, frivolous, and relatively plentiful pictures. Only their titles are known, and among them can be found none of the popular war comedies then attracting large audiences in the United States.[43] In this case, the CPI used these short brief, humorous pictures as they used dramas—to add balance to the programs they presented and to heighten their entertainment value. The real grist of their programs was in the more serious war and educational films and in newsreels.

These films reveal the purpose of motion picture propaganda. Compub used them to counter German propaganda depicting the ineffective American war effort. First among these films were the two CPI produced feature length pictures Pershing's Crusaders and America's Answer. They demonstrated U. S. strength in many ways by depicting homefront cooperation, production line efficiency, military training, enthusiastic reception of American troops arriving in large numbers in France, and the movement of these troops toward the front. The messages in these films were simple and repeated. No doubt was left about the U. S. commitment to the war or about the efficiency of its contribution to the Allied cause. Throughout they stressed the American democratic spirit, the massive strength of the nation's war effort, the basic goodness of American men and women, and as the captions made clear, their devotion to the sacred cause of freedom.[44]

The messages conveyed by these films were repeated and reinforced in a number of other films. Remaking the Nation, a CPI contracted picture filmed at Camp Sherman that portrayed army training, was frequently used in the Compub programs as were a number of Signal Corps films. The latter included The 1917 Recruit, Soldiers of the Sea, Torpedo Boat Destroyers, Submarines, The Spirit of 1917, The Lumbar Jack, Fire and Gas, Gold of the Sea, and Messengers of Mercy.[45] They all supported the themes of American strength and preparation. Beyond this the Compub personnel had a large store of newsreels to show including their own Official War Review and various numbers of the Pathé Weekly and Universal's Animated Weekly. These newsreels offered no "bad" news, showed the American "unconquerable spirit," and convincingly portrayed the firm foundations of American strength at home, its mobilization, and its implementation on the battlefield in France.[46] As Bullard's associate Malcolm Davis explained: "The impression which we were trying to make was that America was with the Allies, and for them, heart and soul, and that she was throwing into the fight every bit of strength and resource that she could make effective, a fact which was making the ultimate triumph of the Allied arms sure. The motion pictures, consequently, counted at the right time as a corrective to any German propaganda of Allied defeat."[47]

There was, however, another type of message contained in the films shown, and it grew in importance as German strength began to collapse. It dealt with advancing a positive image of Americans and of the American way of life. From the first, Bullard requested CPI materials that would convey "graphically to the Russian people a definite consciousness of America and the American people."[48] In this case and afterwards, he fixed his attention on building the foundation for lasting and friendly Russian-American relations. "In contrast to some of our Allies," he wrote from Siberia, "our Government is playing a long-term game. It has had faith—in spite of all present unpleasantness—in the eventual triumph of popular government in Russia."

Anti-American charges still circulated in Siberia and with the defeat of Germany they centered on the idea that Americans were "out after commerce and trade concessions." Bullard admitted that he felt there could be no "regeneration of Russia without the reestablishment of foreign trade relations," and this probably meant there would be an increase in American "trade and industry in Russia." In his opinion they were matters to be addressed by the Consular Corps and the War Trade Board.

Accordingly, he contended that the CPI in Russia was in position to concentrate on portraying American achievement to Russians as a means of demonstrating the standard of life democracy made possible. This would counter rumors circulating about American greed, and it would help to establish compatible Russian-American relations. "It is up to us," he stressed, "to put across "her [America's] democratic idealism, her passion for ever improving public education, her striving to improve the living and working conditions of her people.

> Our improved industrial and agricultural processes, our giant machinery, etc., are without doubt an important part of our life. But in our job here I think we should emphasize our progress in municiple government, . . . factory legislation for the projection of our workers, our experience in improved political methods, . . . city planning, the use of schoolbuildings as 'Community Centers,' the growth of public libraries, etc. The Russians have heard a lot about the keen competition of our commerce, the dizzying efficiency of our industry, but next to nothing about the real democracy of our people, which [is] ever eagerly striving to make our life not only more prosperous, but also more free and full and fine. It all boils down pretty well to my slogan that our job is to raise the political standard of living of these people. . . . These poor devils don't know what to demand of their government. They don't know what a 'good road' is and never dream of expecting the Government to furnish them. It never occurs to the peasant to think that he has a 'right' to a good school in his village. . . . He pays his taxes sullenly, but does not realize that the revolution means that the money is still his and that he should receive an equal value.[19]

Since the start of their Russian operation, the Compub personnel considered the propagation of American principles a major part of their work as a means to counter German propaganda.[50] Now it grew in importance, and it was a thrust in which films played an increasingly large role.

To convey the workings of democracy, the Compub personnel utilized a variety of films. Many of the newsreels produced during the war could be shown for this purpose. But the most valuable pictures that specifically addressed the desired themes were scenic and educational ones. Among those presented were ones of American cities (e. g., Baltimore, New York, and Seattle), ones featuring American resorts, markets, urban parks, and natural scenery. Films such as "Columbia River Highway," "Water Dams in Idaho and Irrigation," and "Water Power" conveyed a sense of democratic achievement.[51] Educational films describing American agriculture and industry were especially important, and the Compub staff made maximum use of them, not only in their own programs but also in the free distribution of them to Zemstvos organizations, cooperative societies, and schools. Bullard urged CPI headquarters in Washington to send more films of this sort, ones that would stimulate Russian productivity and raise the standards of their life.

Bullard, moreover, was anxious to make the impact of these films more effective. He wanted films with more close-ups. The Russian peasants, he said, "would get better results from an agricultural picture if it were much more elementary, giving each scene a longer time on the screen and giving frequent closeups of all implements used." He wanted agricultural pictures of the simplest kind and pictures specially made to demonstrate fundamental procedures and farm equipment. "A picture of a tractor pulling 40 plows," he said, "does not get across with an audience which has never seen a tractor." His film division made the most of the education films they had on hand, but he reported that the need existed for many more educational films produced with the Russian peasant in mind. "There is a great demand for such films and there is little which I can see in motion picture progaaganda which would be more profitable," he reported to Washington.[52]

Significance of the Campaign

When George Creel summarized the CPI's Russian campaign after the war, he praised it as a success. He contended that despite great physical and political handicaps, the Compub organization achieved its objectives, especially after it hit its stride in Siberia.[53] Both in this instance and in his earlier Complete Report, he cited reports stressing Compub's effort to convince Russian's of American strength and commitment to the Allied cause during the critical months of 1918 when victory for either side seemed possible. The feeling shared by many Russians that Russia's separate peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk assured Germany of victory in the West had been dislodged. Although they were no longer in the war, it was important for the Russians to have faith in the eventual Allied victory and in the idea that Allied war aims were compatible with their own vision of Russia's political future. Most of all, Creel stressed that, through the efforts of the CPI, the Russian people had come to appreciate the "disinterested sincerity" of democratic America. By means of these efforts the foundations of ongoing friendly Russian and American relations had been established. Dispersing knowledge of American "life and character" and a sense that they shared "common ideals and aspirations" with Russians was the "most important achievement of the Siberian department," Creel claimed.[54] Admittedly this conclusion was overstated and problematical, but Creel offered numerous supportive letters the CPI received from various Russian civic organizations as proof of Compub's achievement. Those letters mainly centered on the favorable reception of the CPI's printed materials, and with good reason. They circulated by the hundreds of thousands all across Siberia. By contrast film propaganda was concentrated much more around Vladivostok and was only beginning to expand when the CPI operation terminated. Consequently, the question remains: wherein lies the historical significance of Compub's film propaganda? That question can be answered in three ways.

First of all, the film operation was a remarkable success in terms of sheer achievement in production. Considering that the Compub film personnel began work in Vladivostok with no equipment, supplies, or laboratory facilities, and that they had little cooperation from the government there and had to deal with unfamiliar and bitter climatic conditions, the quantity of their output (2,500 of translated captions each day plus numerous still pictures and some motion picture footage) represents an achievement worthy of recognition. To do this they had to build their own laboratory equipment out of such raw materials as could be found there. The significance of this accomplishment lies in the fact that up until this time no one else had been able to produce either motion pictures or film captions in Russia. The British tried it in Archangel and both the YMCA and the Red Cross tried it in Vladivostok. All failed.[55] Nevertheless, the true significance of American film propaganda in Russia is not found in Compub's achievement in production, impressive though it is.

Perhaps the real significance of the operation lies in the Russian response to it. Although this is an engaging line to pursue, it is hampered by lack of record and by the fact of the eventual Bolshevik victory in the Civil War and the control of life and opinion it entailed. It is impossible to make any long range assessment of the use of American film propaganda in Russia. Interestingly, however, some indication of its short term impact can be gleaned from the paper trail. Sometimes an effort was made to gather audience opinion of the film programs. Unfortunately only one summary of these reactions could be found. This is a report written by one of Compub's Russian assistants of a program shown in the large village of Shkotovo. It was presented in the High Foundation School there to an audience of 345, composed of 95 adults and the remainder students and other youths. The program consisted of films of American cities and life, one of Odessa included for comparison with cities in the United States, and several newsreels featuring end of the war events in the West. In summarizing the notes left in response boxes afterwards, the Russian assistant reported, "Never the notes complained." The response was appreciative and favorable, despite one that read, "your film is good for the devil." It is interesting to note that the assistant reported that the majority of people had previously seen and enjoyed cinemas.[56] The CPI was able to take advantage of that fact. Nevertheless, because of its singularity this reported response, though worthy of note, does not encourage generalization.

More important was the response of various civic organizations to the American film effort. In this case the record is clear. The Vladivostok and other Zemstvos and various co-operative societies in the area valued American films, especially the educational programs. They were anxious to have them. When informed by the Vladivostok Zemstvo of this experiment with motion pictures, the local Zemstvos of the area even sent money to help with the expense of showing films in their districts. The reports following the showing of these films, Bothwell claimed, "were simply great." He reported that the villagers had a keen interest in American agriculture and asked "no end of questions" about it following the showing of the films."[57] As noted previously, Bullard was also aware of this positive reaction when he reported that there was a "great demand for such films."[58] This sentiment was conveyed throughout the various reports about the film operation. Consequently, film propaganda helped to provide to providing material the Russians found useful in engineering their democratic and economic advance, which at that juncture of time and circumstance seemed possible. That possibility remained alive through 1918 and early 1919, but as the Civil War intensified in Siberia, the area spun into a gigantic economic disintegration as life there became a struggle for bare existence. The extension of Bolshevik force and control across Siberia, makes it impossible to find the real significance of American film propaganda in the response Russians made to it.

There is, however, another way to evaluate the CPI's film propaganda in Russia. It deals with purpose, and it is with this consideration that the operation yields its greatest significance. Historians have long debated the purpose behind President Wilson's Russian policy during these years of revolution and civil war. Much of that debate has turned on the question of American intervention especially at Vladivostok,[59] but this was by no means the focus of the CPI's efforts in Russia. They dealt more with the substance of Russian-American relations and had the task of explaining Wilson's policies on the war and on revolution in Russia to the people there. This too has been debated. Some historians interpret Wilson's Russian policy as an effort to advance America's political and economic interests under the pretext of "a generous humanitarian idealism."[60] The trouble with this interpretation lies not in the idea that Wilson was concerned with American business interests as well as with idealistic internationalism but rather with the assumption that Russian-American relations were perceived as a contest between competing imperialisms. The idea that Wilson was seeking control and dominance for the United States *vis a vis* Russia or exclusion of others' legitimate interests in Russia is unconvincing. It runs against the basic tenets of Wilsonian idealism, his belief in self-determination, self-reliance, and human progress.

A more convincing interpretation is one that stresses his effort to apply the spirit of his progressive philosophy internationally, in this case to Russia. There is little question that he opposed the Bolsheviks and their methods and hoped for their defeat, but he approached Russia in revolution with different aims in mind. He wanted the Russian people to have the chance to address their own problems[61] and to carry forth their own democratic development unfettered by outside intervention or by autocracy from within. Orderly change in Russia was his goal. He wanted first of all to encourage Russia to stay in the war to defeat German autocracy and its influence in Russia. After the Bolshevik revolution and Russia's subsequent exit from the war, Wilson continued to hope for orderly change. He wished, as John Lewis Gaddis has argued, "to reconstitute a political arena in Russia in which anti-Bolshevik elements could compete, with some chance of success, for the allegiance of the Russian people."[62] This was his intent when he announced on May 18, 1918, that America would "stand by" Russia.

By the time Wilson made that statement Russia had withdrawn from the war. While it remained necessary for Compub to continue to stress American strength and commitment to the war effort in order to convey the sense that the United States would fight for the Allied war aims, which were shared by most Russians, there was no effort to push the Russians to open a new Eastern front. Quite to the contrary, CPI propaganda dispensed in Siberia increasingly centered on the effort to give Russians there some sense of what democracy had achieved in the United States. More and more the stress was placed on this subject both in the printed and film material used.[63] In fact, when the CPI operation ended there, the Compub film personnel were planning to make a film, "How Uncle Sam Earns His Pay," to portray the rewards and services Americans received for the money they invested in government. "This motion picture," Bullard explained a little later, "was only an unachieved project, but we did a great deal on the same line in our printed propaganda. It was a brand-new idea to most Russians."[64]

The significance of this effort to publicize the virtues and achievements of democracy to Russians lies in how it substantiates Wilson's idealistic intentions toward the new Russian. All through 1918, Compub in Russia made a concerted effort to carry out Wilson's intentions as faithfully as possible. The President first announced his intentions toward the new Russia (i. e., Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution) on January 8, 1918, in his Fourteen Points address. The sixth point states that the other nations would strive to help Russia obtain "an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy . . . and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and . . . assistance also of every kind that she may need; and, may herself desire." Wilson added that the treatment of the other nations accorded Russia in the months ahead would be "the acid test of their good will."[65]

Wilson made his second statement of his policy toward Russia some months later. All during the first half of 1918, the Allies pressured Wilson to commit himself and American troops to an intervention in Russia. He finally agreed to a limited intervention, and explained his intentions and limitations of the American action in a document known as the Aide Memoire, which he gave to the Allied envoys on July 17. The United States, he said, has no intention "to take part in organized intervention in adequate force from either Vladivostok or Murmansk and Archangel." He explained that U. S. forces were going in to aid the Czecho-Slovaks, to guard military stores and "to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians may be willing to accept assistance." Wilson made it clear that we had no intention to interfere with Russian sovereignty, territorial integrity, or internal politics. He also mentioned that we would send various civilian groups (e. g., the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., a commission of economic experts) to help in "spreading useful information and rendering educational help of a modest sort."[66]

On August 3, 1918, several weeks after circulating his Aide-Memoire among the Allies, Wilson issued a public statement paraphrasing it. The core of its content was the announcement that the United States was taking action to help the Czechs "against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them" and to "steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance." It went on to make a solemn pledge that there was no intention to interfere with Russian sovereignty or intervention in her internal affairs, "not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her forces [American] may be obliged to occupy—and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter, . . ."[67] This statement became the operating orders of the CPI in Siberia. As Bullard said a number of times, this meant that "we do not intend to intervene politically in the sense of backing one faction against another." Indeed, he thought it was a "wise policy," for in his judgment all the factions in

Siberia were "yelling for intervention" except for the Bolsheviks but only wanted that intervention to "help in shooting up their enemies."[68]

Bullard,who as director guided and set the tone for the CPI's publicity campaign in Russia, interpreted the president's words precisely. After Russia left the war and especially after the CPI moved to Vladivostok and achieved full stride in its work, Compub's purpose was to spread "useful information" and to render "educational help of a modest sort. For that reason the film and printed matter publicized in Russia came more and more to emphasize the subject of the workings and achievements of democracy—American, of course. The idea was to inspire a democratic reconstruction of Russia. As Bullard put it, "to have an ideal government you must have some ideal material."[69] Clearly he wished to have Compub supply that material in film and print.

It was a matter of education. Since his service in Northern Russia, he had been convinced of this, and his conviction about it grew with time.[70] He thought this was the surest means of building a lasting friendship with Russia, and of helping to construct "good government" there. In the end, he hoped that this work would continue after the war and even recommended that a broad educational exchange program be established to bring Russian students to the United States. He told Creel that if such a program could be arranged he would "feel more satisfied by this achievement than by all the Russia Division has accomplished in other lines. This is a big and a lasting one."[71]

"It all boils down," Bullard said at the end, "pretty well to my slogan that our job here is to raise the political standard of living of these people." With that comment he had in mind the need he perceived to raise the people's vision and expectations regarding government and its responsibilities. The lack of demand by the people of Siberia for good roads, good schools, and good government disturbed him. So he concluded, "If we can give these people a picture of what an American taxpayer expects in the way of returns on his 'investment' we will have done something very valuable indeed."[72] Increasingly, he became interested in education as the only solution for Russia's myriad of problems ranging from Bolshevism to illiteracy and to the country's many-sided backwardness. "This was the one on which we could always interest people in our American propaganda," he wrote after departing from Siberia.[73] Political partisans, teachers, peasants, all were fascinated by the idea of public education and Bullard viewed it as the key to everything else—e. g., land reform, effective local government, stable central government, and economic regeneration and development. He contended that Russia had been undergoing a fundamental revolution for years, one that education and public opinion would ultimately determine. Accordingly, his commitment to placing the workings of institutions in a free and democratic society foremost in CPI propaganda and stressing education can be understood. The motto for our relations with Russia, he concluded, should be "Education, the road to Democracy."[74] The use the Compub personnel made of film, once their operation achieved full stride in the fall of 1918, indicates that this was, indeed, a most significant objective in their work.

In retrospect it is clear that motion pictures were used in this campaign to convey specific messages. The entertainment films, in this case, were offered to balance the programs and help engage a mass audience, though it is possible to image that there was some emotional value found in the simple romantic theme of good triumphant over evil. It was the actuality films that delivered the propaganda messages of American strength and solidarity, of American commitment to the Allied cause, of America's role in the victory over the Central Powers, and as a leader in peace proceedings aimed to replace the prewar order with a more democratic one. Most of all, films were selected that carried messages that would introduce Russians to American life, culture and national achievement. It was, of course, a selective and decidedly positive portrayal that Compub offered, one unblemished by any glimpse of the nation's social or economic failures or any of its political imperfections. To that extent the America portrayed in film was unreal. But it was one that reflected the spirit of American progressive thought that Bullard believed in as much as Wilson. While it is true that this demonstrates the American propensity to see others as themselves and to envision their own democracy as the surest government for all people, it is also true that Bullard and his colleagues had an abiding faith in the democracy they propagandized. They believed deeply that it could produce a better life the world over as well as more harmonious relations among nations. These Compub men were committed Wilsonians who, in their efforts by camera and pen, labored to give accurate expression to the President's intentions regarding Russia.

Accordingly, it can be concluded that the film propaganda employed by Compub in Russia during 1918 played a major role in the effort to educate Russians toward democracy. Motion pictures were, after all, the most democratic media that could be used for this purpose. Bullard and the others came to value motion pictures increasingly in their work; they appreciated their potential as an instrument in ideological warfare, and in this instance they employed them to publicize Wilson's progressive internationalist vision for the new Russia.

Notes

1. Films were used in portraying the Anglo-Boer War, the Boxer Rebellion, and the Spanish-American War. See, Raymond Fielding, The American Newsreel 1911-1967 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1072), 29-36; David H. Mould, American Newsfilm, 1914-1919: The Underexposed War (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983), 7-8; and Elizabeth Grottle Strebel, "Primitive Propaganda: The Boer War Films," Sight and Sound 46 (Winter 1976-77): 45-57.

2. George Creel, How we Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe (New York: Harper and Brothers Publisher, 1920), 4.

3. The standard works on the CPI leave much room for deeper and broader inquiry into the CPI's international work. Stephen Vaughn's Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) deals only with the CPI's Domestic Section. James R. Mock's and Cedric Larson's Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939) and George Creel's How We advertised America featured greater coverage of the CPI's Domestic Section than its Foreign Section, and their coverage of the latter can be described as an overview. Creel's book, like his earlier and more complete but lesser known, Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), is limited to selected CPI records as primary sources. His works are valuable, but they neglect other pertinent primary sources and fail to satisfy retrospective curiosity about the CPI's overseas operations.

4. George Kennan, Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), 18.

5. Mock and Larson only give the Russian operation cursory mention and Creel bases his discussion of it in his How We advertised America essentially on several reports, which, though

important, do not cover all the significant aspects of the campaign. A large part of the CPI's Russian operation was conducted in Siberia, and historians have displayed keen interest in the American intervention there in 1918. Many of the standard accounts of the Siberian intervention, however, either fail to mention the CPI's work there or simply mention it in a nondescript phrase. See, for example, William S. Graves, American Siberian Adventure (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931); N. Gordon Levin, Jr., Woodrow Wilson and the World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968; Clarence Manning, The Siberian Fiasco (New York: Library Publishers, 1951); Frederick Lewis Schuman, American Policy Towards Russia Since 1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1928); and Betty Miller Unterberger, America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920: A Study of National Policy (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1956). Unterberger, however, did made a direct reference to the CPI's work in Siberia in a later conference paper, "Woodrow Wilson and the 'Acid Test' of Soviet-American Relations," Southern Historical Association meeting, Houston, Texas, 1985. In his study, Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920, George Kennan devotes an entire chapter to the CPI and provides a penetrating account of Arthur Bullard. See, Russia Leaves the War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 190-208. Kennan, however, limits those comments to CPI's work in Northern Russia in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution and deals with other matters in his coverage of the Siberian intervention. The role of the CPI has failed to attract the interest of historians debating American motives for intervention. See, for example, Christopher Lasch, "American Intervention in Siberia: A Reinterpretation," Political Science Quarterly 77 (June 1062): 205-23; Eugene P. Trani, "Woodrow Wilson and the Decision to Intervene in Russia: A Reconsideration," Journal of Modern History 48 (September 1976): 440-61; and Betty Miller Unterberger, "President Wilson and the Decision to Send American Troops to Siberia," Pacific Historical Review 24 (February 1955): 63-74.

6. For example, Kevin Brownlow's classic study, The War The West and The Wilderness (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), provides engaging information on the film as propaganda during the war, but allows the subject to lapse in the case of American propaganda in Russia. It devotes only two lines about difficulties encountered in Moscow and Petrograd to the subject, and its more extensive coverage to American operations in Siberia is devoted entirely to the

Photographic Section of the Signal Corps attached to the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, whose job it was to record by film rather than to propagandize by film. (See, "The Russian Intervention," pp. 164-71). Michael T. Isenberg's excellent and otherwise useful study, War on Film: The American Cinema and World War I, 1914-1941 (Ratherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981) emphasizes how the subject of war was portrayed during the war, not on the uses made of that portrayal. Harold D. Lasswell's classic study Propaganda Technique in World War I (1927; reprint ed., Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1971) virtually overlooks film as propaganda in his discussion of American propaganda techniques in Russia. Richard Wood's Film and Propaganda in America: A Documentary History, vol. 1, World War I (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990) contains only a single document pertaining to the CPI's work in Russia, a letter by Edgar Sisson (See, pp., 444-46). Two other quite useful studies for the subject of World War I films in general, Craig W. Campbell's Reel America and World War I: A Comprehensive Filmography and the History of Motion Pictures in the United States, 1914-1920 (Jefferson, N. C.: Mc Farland and Company, 1985) and Larry Wayne Ward's The Motion Picture Goes to War: The U. S. Government Film Effort during World War I (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985) concentrate on the production and description of films and related matters. They do not directly engage the subject of the present inquiry.

7. Kennan, Russia and the West, 65-66, and Pravda, 15 Sept. 1957, 1, quote in ibid., 65-66.

8. R. H. Bruce Lockhart, Memoirs of a British Agent (1932; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1950), 159, 167-8.

9. Malcolm W. Davis, Open Gates to Russia (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), 33.

10. Lockhart, Memoirs of a British Agent, 142. It can be noted here that the British made films part of this effort. Using portable film projectors mounted on trucks, they gave shows to over 100,000 Russian troops in April-May 1916 alone. They were well received during the period of Russian success in the offense of 1916, but by 1917 "they served merely to increase the number of deserters." Ibid., 185, and Keith Meilson, "'Joy Rides'?: British Intelligence and Propaganda in Russia, 1914-1917," The Historical Journal 24 (1981): 894.

11. Enclosed in Robert Lansing to President Wilson, 8 June 1917, in Arthur S. Link, ed., The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, 64 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966-1991), 1:464. Cited hereafter as PWW.

12. Lockhart, Memoirs of a British Agent, 149.

13. Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson, 8 June 1917, PWW, 42: 463.

14. "Plans for American Cooperation to Preserve and Strengthen the Morale of the Civil Population of Russia," synopsis and critique, enclosed in George Creel to Woodrow Wilson, 20 June [Aug.] 1917, PWW, 43: 526-30.

15. President Wilson himself believed that Bullard was "eminently fitted" to participate in the Root mission. "He is a magazine writer and an author of excellent reputation and spent five years in Russia at the time of the last revolutionary attempt. . . . He probably knows as much as any other man in America about the various radical groups in Russia. . . . I am quite willing that he should be commissioned and sent at once." Wilson to Sec. Lansing, 14 May 1917, PWW, 42: 289. Creel brought Bullard to Wilson's attention originally. Creel to Wilson, 10 May 1917, PWW, Vol. 42, 267. Secretary Lansing, however, ruined Bullard's chances for that mission by informing the President about a negative comment Bullard had made about Secretary of Navy, Josephus Daniels, in an article some months before the war. Wilson to Creel, 14 June 1917, George Creel Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., vol. 1. Cited hereafter as Creel Papers.

16. Arthur Bullard to Col. House, 3 June 1917, Arthur Bullard Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, box 9. Cited hereafter as Bullard Papers.

17. Wilson to Creel, 4 September 1917, Creel Papers, vol. 1.

18. Charles Edward Russell to Wilson, 10 November 1917, PWW, 44: 557.

19. Wilson to Russell, 10 November 1917, ibid.

20. Wilson to Creel, 10 November 1917, ibid.

21. Memorandum, "Motion-Picture Publicity: It's [sic] Relation to Aiding the Work of the Industrial Commission Which Has Been Sent to Russia," P. A. Strachan to President Wilson, 17 June 1917, Charles Edward Russell Papers, Library of Congress, box 7. Cited hereafter as Russell Papers.

22. Creel said the quality of posters was uncertain and that of Russian speakers was problematic. He thought distributing pamphlets and leaflets had no "merit at all." The British had tried it and had "muddled the situation." Creel was interested in a news service and in the use of films. Critique enclosed in Creel to Wilson, 20 August 1917, PWW, 43:526.

23. Russell to Wilson, 7 November 1917, PWW, 44: 557. See also a memorandum, "Publicity and Recomments," n. d., in the Russell Papers, vol. 8.

24. John R. Mott to Robert Lansing, 22 August 1917, PWW, 44:66. As mentioned previously (fn. 10), the British had used films in their Russian propaganda earlier. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the British experience with motion pictures there influenced the American decision to make film propaganda part of their Russian operation.

25. Arthur Bullard to Mr. Wright (counselor at Petrograd), 11 October 1917, Bullard Papers, box 6.

26. "Report of Edgar Sisson on Installation of Committee of Public Information Service in Russia," pp. 6-7, May 29, 1918, ibid.

27. COMPUB (Washington) to COMPUB (Moscow), 6 March 1918, Records of the Committee on Public Information, Record Group 63/CPI, 17-A2, box 256. Cited hereafter as RG63/CPI plus appropriate subgroup and box number.

28. Creel to Wilson, 27 December 1917, Creel Papers, vol. 1.

29. "Report of Edgar Sisson," p. 9, and Edgar Sisson, One Hundred Red Days: A Personal Chronicle of the Bolshevik Revolution (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931) 180-83.

30.Malcolm Davis, "Report of Work in Connection with the Siberian Department of the Russian Press Division of the Committee on Public Information," RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 258.

31. Bullard's group included George Bakeman, Otto Glasman, and Graham Taylor, who had left northern Russia with Bullard. They were joined now by Dr. Joshua Rosett, Franklin Clarkin, Edwin Schoonmaker, Robert Winters, George Bothwell, Sid Evans, Prof. William Russell, William Carnes, Lem A. Dever, Dennis Haggerty, H. Y. Barnes, and Phil Norton (Creel, How We Advertised America, 380).

32. Edgar Sisson to Bullard, 6 Sept. 1918, RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 257.

33. Bullard to Mrs. Bagg, 28 August 1918, Bullard Papers, box 8.

34. Untitled report, n. d. [early Sept.], RG63/CPI, 27-B2, box 377.

35. Malcolm Davis to Will Irwin, 9 July 1918, RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 258.

36. The Czech Corps or Czech Legion was composed of men from Czech populations living in the former Russian Empire as well as Czech prisoners and deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army. They formed a separate detachment in the old Russian army. Although their number was frequently cited as 60,000 or 70,000, George Kennan estimates that it was considerably less, between 40,000 and 50,000. George Kennan, Russia and the West, 70.

37. As mentioned earlier (fn. 5), the CPI is scarcely mentioned in the growing body of literature on the American intervention in Siberia.

38. Bullard to Edgar Sisson, 11 September 1918, RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 257.

39. "Report of George S. Bothwell, Director of Film Division, American Committee on Public Information, Russian Division, Vladivostok, Siberia, Number 1, n. d., [January 1919], RG63/CPI, 27-B1, pp. 3-4; "Report of George S. Bothwell, Director of Film Division, American Committee on Public Information, Russian Division, Vladivostok, Siberia," Number 2, n. d., [January 1919], ibid.; Malcolm Davis, "Report of Work in connection with the Siberian Department of the Russian Press Division of the Committee on Public Press Division of the Committee on Public Information," RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 258; and Arthur Bullard to Edgar Sisson, n. d. [March 1919], "Re Films," RG63/CPI, 17-A2; and "The Situations in Siberia," 6 October 1918, Bullard Papers, box 6.

40. Although the number of films varied over time, when the operation terminated the films on hand included: 29 dramas, 38 comedies, 19 scenic films, 14 war pictures, seven reels of the War Review, 33 numbers of Pathé's Weekly, and 28 numbers of the Universal Animated Weekly. (Bothwell, Report Number 2, RG63/CPI, 27-B1, box 377.)

41. Because of their romantic qualities, most of these films were favorably reviewed. See, for instance, reviews in The New York Times Film Reviews 1913-1968, 4 vols.(New York: New York Times and Arno Press, 1970) 1: 3, 25, and 99 of The White Raven (22 January 1917, 9: 1) Thais (31 December 1917, 5: 2), and The Conquest of Canaan (11 July 1921, 9: 3). The Island of Regeneration was reviewed by Motion Picture News, 20 February 1915, 48.

42. The Eagle's Eyes, a film produced with government approval was a serial film portraying

Germans plotting to blow up the Lusitania, preparing a culture of infantile paralysis germs to feed to horseflies to be turned loose upon innocent civilians. Some American theater managers refused to show the series for fear of offending German-Americans in their audiences. See Moving Picture World, 23 February 1918, 1065 and 9 March 1918. See also, Isenberg's, War on Film, 183-84, and Campbell, Reel America and World War I, 94. Inside the Lines was tamer. It featured a German Secret Service effort to destroy the British fleet at Gibraltar. See Moving Picture World, 7 September 1918, 1464, and Campbell, Reel America and World War I, 178.

43. The comedies the Compub had available at the end of 1918 were: Eight Bells, All For Her, Colonel Heeza, His Day Out, His Golden Romance, It's a Great Life, Oh! What a Day, Recruit, Some Baby, Aeroplane Elopement, Ambitious Ethel, Back to Balkans, Crazy Cat Cook, Decoy, Faith of Sunny Sim, Good and Proper, Guilty Ones, Jack Hires a Stenographer, Jarr and the Lady's Cup, Jarr and the Lady Reporter, Jarr Takes a Night Off, Kernel Nut the Footman, Kernel Nut and the Janitor, Leak, Money-Maid-Men, Mutt and Jeff, On IA, Pipe Dreams, Prize Winners, Rare Boarder, Seeing New York with John Dough, Speed, Tale of a Monkey, War Correspondents, Wedding Promise, and What's the Use. (Bothwell, Report Number 2, RG63/CPI, 27-B1, box 377.)

44. America's Answer, RG111, M316, and Pershing's Crusaders, RG111-14, Signal Corps Historical Films, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

45. Creel, Complete Report of the Chairman, 47, and Bothwell, Report Number 2, RG63/CPI, 27-B1, box 377. All of the above films were listed in these reports except for Gold of the Sea and Messengers of Mercy. They were probably retitled by Compub personnel in Siberia.

46. Isenberg, War on Film, 73-74.

47. Report by Malcolm Davis, "Work in Russia—Siberian Activities," in Creel, Complete Report of the Chairman, 239.

48. E. T. Weeks to Mr. Churchill, 28 January 1918, RG63/CPI, 15-A1, box 233.

49. Arthur Bullard to Phil Norton, 25 December 1918, Bullard Papers, box 7.

50. Malcolm Davis to Edgar Sisson, 9 July 1918, RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 258. In this letter Davis reviewed the purpose of American propaganda in Russia since January 1918. See also, Bullard to Edgar Sisson, 30 September 1918, ibid., box 257.

51. Bothwell, Report Number 2.

52. Bullard to Edgar Sisson, n. d. (December 1918/January 1919), RG63/CPI, 17-A22, box 257.

53. Creel, How We Advertised America, chap. XIV, esp., 397-8.

54. Ibid. In support of these claims, Creel included letters from Zemstvo leaders and other Siberian authorities in his Complete Report of the Chairman, 257-67.

55. G. S. Bothwell, memorandum, 18 January 1919, cited in Creel, Complete Report, 245.

56. N. Tilicheieff, "The Zemstvos Scientific-Educational Cinema," n. d., RG63/CPI, 27-B1, box 377.

57. G. S. Bothwell, memorandum, 18 January 1919, cited in Creel, Complete Report, 245.

58. Bullard to Edgar Sisson, n. d., [December 1918/January 1919], RG63/CPI, 17-A1, box 257.

59. See fn. 5.

60. See, for example, William Appleman Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1959), 47 and 59.

61. Arthur S. Link, Wilson the Diplomatist (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), 117.

62. John Lewis Gaddis, Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History, sec. ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 83.

63. This statement is based on an extensive search of CPI's Russian operation. It is also supported by a topical breakdown of Compub's printed and circulated materials found in Malcolm Davis, "Report on Siberian Activities," pp. 2 and 23, n. d. [early 1919], Bullard Papers, box 7, and a report that Graham Taylor sent to Arthur Bullard, 26 March 1919, RG63/CPI, 17-A1, box 256.

64. Arthur Bullard, The Russian Pendulum: Autocracy—Democracy—Bolshevism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), 227.

65. Quoted in Samuel Flagg Bemis, The United States as a World Power: A Diplomatic History 1900-1955 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955), 156.

66. Quoted in George F. Kennan. *Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920*, vol. 2. *The Decision to Intervene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 392.

67. Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, 4 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 3: 416-17.

68. Arthur Bullard, "Report on the Situation in Siberia," p. 8, Bullard to Edgar Sisson, 6 October 1918, Bullard Papers, box 6.

69. Bullard to Walter Weyl, n. d. [1919], ibid., box 10.

70. Arthur Bullard to Butler J. Wright, Counselor of Petrograd Embassy, 11 October 1917, ibid., box 6, and Bullard to Edgar Sisson, 30 September 1918, RG63/CPI, 17-A2, box 257.

71. Arthur Bullard to George Creel, 7 December 1918, Bullard Papers, box 7; Bullard, "Russia and World Peace," ibid., box 6; and Bullard, *The Russian Pendulum*, 246-47.

72. Arthur Bullard to Phil Norton, 25 December 1918, Bullard Papers, box 7.

73. Arthur Bullard, *The Russian Pendulum*, 229.

74. Ibid., 247.

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Milton Caniff: A Summing Up

A Paper Prepared for the
American Journalism Historians Association

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Milton Caniff: A Summing Up

ABSTRACT

Cartoonist Milton Caniff was first called the "Rembrandt of the comic strip" not by an art critic, but by a syndicate hack hired to boost a new feature. In his later years, his work was characterized as racist, sexist and militarist. But when Caniff died, Charles Schulz, creator of the comic strip *Peanuts*, said, "I think he did more for the profession of the comics than any other single person." Pulitzer Prize-winner Jules Feiffer added, "What Astaire applied to dance Caniff applied to paper."

What is Caniff's place in the history of the comic strip? Can he be considered an important influence on American journalism history or merely the product of clever public relations? Why did his work provoke such strong and diverse reactions? Following a brief overview of Milton Caniff's life and career, this paper will attempt to answer these questions.

Milton Caniff: A Summing Up

A survey reported in the 30 January 1993 issue of *Editor and Publisher* noted that 113 million Americans read Sunday comic strip sections.[1] This enormous readership in a time when the demise of the newspaper is being predicted should motivate journalism historians to examine the power and longevity of this popular component of the newspaper. Such studies acquire new timeliness with the 1995 celebration fo the hundredth anniversary of the *Yellow Kid*, sometimes described as the first American comic strip, and the source of the term "yellow journalism."

Cartoonist Milton Caniff was first called the "Rembrandt of the comic strip" not by an art critic, but by a syndicate hack hired to boost a new feature.[2] In his later years, his work was characterized as racist, sexist and militarist. But when Caniff died, Charles Schulz, creator of the comic strip *Peanuts*, said, "I think he did more for the profession of the comics than any other single person."[3] Pulitzer Prize-winner Jules Feiffer added, "What Astaire applied to dance Caniff applied to paper."[4]

What is Caniff's place in the history of the comic strip? Can he be considered an important influence on American journalism history or merely the product of clever public relations? Why did his work provoke such strong and diverse reactions? Following a brief overview of Milton Caniff's life and career, this paper will attempt to answer these questions.

Milton Caniff: A Biographical Sketch

Milton Arthur Paul Caniff was born in Hillsboro, Ohio, on 28 February 1907, to John and Elizabeth Burton Caniff.[5] He was an adored only child of an alcoholic father and a doting mother. He described his family as not lace-curtain Irish; money was always dear. After moving to Dayton, Ohio, Caniff encountered two influences that were to alter him permanently: growing up in the time and place where the Wright brothers were perfecting the airplane, and joining the Boy Scouts.

The boy was part of the first generation of children for whom comic strips were an accepted and expected part of the newspaper, not a new innovation. His father was a printer, so a supply of scrap paper was readily available to the child who displayed artistic promise at an early age.[6] As a youngster he worked as an office boy at the *Dayton Journal* and he took the famous Landon correspondence course in cartooning. When John Canemaker asked for Caniff's thoughts about Winsor McCay (creator of the comic strip *Little Nemo in Slumberland*) for a biography he was writing, Caniff wrote the following:

> When my grandfather read the Sunday comics aloud I thought Winsor McCay's work was about real people (as in a photograph), while MUTT AND JEFF and the others had been drawn by a cartoonist.
>
> Like all other aspiring young artists I copied every drawing in the newspapers (rather than magazines). . . I am grateful for the education [Winsor McCay] gave a kid in the boondocks--without ever knowing the young man was enrolled in his class.[7]

Encouraged by his high school art teacher Martha Schauer, Caniff entered Ohio State University in 1926, the first member of his family to attend college. While at college, he majored in fine arts; worked for the student newspaper and literary magazine; got a job at the *Columbus Dispatch* and worked with his mentor, Billy Ireland, the well-known editorial cartoonist; pledged Sigma Chi; and participated in countless extra-curricular activities from cheer-leading to an amateur theatrical troupe. Those were heady days at Ohio State: Caniff knew James Thurber, Jon Whitcomb, Noel Sickles, and Fred Machetanz, all of whom later enjoyed successful careers in the arts. Advice from Ireland to "stick to your ink-pots, kid, actors don't eat regularly" caused Caniff to seek his livelihood as a cartoonist rather than attempt a stage career. But the techniques of the dramatist and actor remained permanent inspirations for him.

Shortly after his college graduation in 1930, Caniff married his high school sweetheart, Esther (Bunny) Parsons, and they remained married until his death in 1988.[8] Although an examination of the intricacies of their relationship is beyond the scope of this paper, Bunny Caniff exerted an enormous influence on the cartoonist that merits scrutiny. For example, Caniff said that he modeled the appearance of the villian Captain Akoola (a name which he translates as shark in Russian) on his wife.[9]

Caniff worked for the *Columbus Dispatch* until he was "let go" in 1932 as a result of the Depression. A brief attempt by him and Noel Sickels to establish an art agency was unsuccessful, so Caniff accepted an offer in the fall of '32 to work in the New York City office of the Associated Press as an artist. At the AP bullpen he drew whatever was needed, from political caricatures to illustrations for continuing stories. He soon was asked to take over the panel cartoon *Mister Gilfeather* from another young artist, Al Capp, when Capp moved on to work as Ham Fisher's assistant on *Joe Palooka*. Caniff transformed the feature into *The Gay Thirties*, a folksy reflection of daily life. In July 1933, Caniff created a new comic strip, *Dickey Dare*, which was based on the dream adventures of a little boy, just as *Little Nemo* by McCay had been.

The story of how Captain Joseph Patterson of the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate commissioned Caniff to create *Terry and the Pirates* in 1934 has been retold many times.[10] In an effort to catch the public's attention, Patterson instructed him to invent an adventure comic strip involving Chinese river pirates that would appeal to all age-levels. Caniff headed for the public library to learn all that he could about China and this began what soon became an important characteristic of his work. His detailed documentation of locale, dialogue, dress, and current events delighted his readers and challenged them to look for occasional lapses or to suggest improvements. Caniff wrote and drew *Terry and the Pirates* from 22 October 1934 to 29 December 1946. As war loomed in the Far East, Caniff altered his storyline from river pirates led by the Dragon Lady to tales of the Japanese invasion of China and later had his characters be part of the war effort. The strip was extremely popular, with the cartoonist receiving more than 10,000 letters about it from 1934 through 1945.[11]

With the outbreak of World War II, Caniff attempted to create a military version of *Terry* for the Camp Newspaper Service, which supplied features to small armed forces publications. Business complications prevented this, so Caniff created *Male Call*, featuring Miss Lace. This humorous weekly comic strip constantly stretched the tolerance of the military censors and gave Caniff a special relationship with noncoms.

Caniff left his success with *Terry and the Pirates* in late 1946 because he did not own the rights to the comic strip. Marshall Field offered and Caniff accepted the opportunity to begin anew with complete ownership of a yet-to-be-conceived comic strip. Caniff's stature at the time within his business is evidenced by an ad in *Editor and Publisher* which ran eighteen months before *Steve Canyon* made its debut: "Sixty-three newspapers, with a combined daily and Sunday circulation of 9,412,023, have contracted for Milton Caniff's daily strip and Sunday page which starts DECEMBER, 1946. Never before have newspapers bought an cartoon feature not yet conceived."[12] The new feature actually began with great fanfare--including a *Time* magazine cover story--on 13 January 1947.

Caniff attempted to transfer the formula which had made *Terry and the Pirates* so successful to *Steve Canyon*.[13] Once again, he created a repertory company of characters, a mixture of strong men, sexy women, colorful villans, and comic eccentrics, and placed them in exotic settings using current events as storyline themes. Although Steve Canyon was not in the military service when the feature began in 1946, Caniff put him in an Air Force uniform during the Korean War and he remained as an officer until protests about the militaristic nature of the comic strip during the Viet Nam years caused the cartoonist to transfer him into espionage. Caniff wrote and drew *Steve Canyon* for more than forty years, but the comic strip never engaged its readership in the way *Terry and the Pirates* did. For his efforts, Caniff twice won the best cartoonist of the year award from his peers, once in 1946 and again in 1971. Named the Reuben after Rube Goldberg, this award is the cartoonists' equivalent of the Motion Picture Academy's Oscar.

In addition to his work, Caniff was always an active volunteer. His chalk talks at veterans' hospitals were legendary and he was tireless in his devotion to his profession. He was a founding member of both the National Cartoonists Society and the Newspaper Comics Council (now named the Newspaper Features Council). He worked on numerous U.S. savings bond drives and provided free artwork for the Boy Scouts, Sigma Chi, Ohio State University, and many other causes. He was a ceaseless promoter of the United States Air Force. While Caniff's motivation to do all of this was undoubtedly a desire to "pay back" society for his own good fortune, it was also driven by a shrewd business sense: the volunteer work provided free positive publicity for his feature.

Milton Caniff was a victim of the generation gap which exploded in the late 1960s. His ideas about patriotism and how it differed from propaganda, the roles of women and minorities, and the place of the United States in the world were all out of step with the younger generation. His art and dialogue were unsuited to the shrinking space allotted to them on the comics page. Although he had earned handsome salaries for many years, little money was left and he had no choice but to continue working. Syndication figures for *Steve Canyon* are not available, but Joe D'Angelo, president of King Features Syndicate, Inc., has stated that his company was taking a loss on the comic strip in the late 1980s.[14] Caniff knew that he was kept on the payroll because of the past, not the present. Although the respect and admiration of his peers bolstered his last years, Caniff's was a sad ending.

Caniff's Impact on the American Comic Strip

Shortly after Caniff's death, cartoonist and syndicate executive Jerry Robinson observed that the late cartoonist had "lifted the level of comics."[15] An important factor in Caniff's ability to do this was his educational background. If one takes as his cohort group the first ten winners of the National Cartoonists Society's best cartoonist of the year award, only Caniff and Mort Walker (who was sixteen years younger) had college degrees.[16] The rigorous traditional fine arts training Caniff received prepared him to adapt *chiaroscuro* technique into the "every wrinkle must show" style for which he became famous. At college he was introduced to literature, theatre and music, all of which were combined in his work. Indeed, Caniff's use of "Saint Louis Blues" as the signature melody of the sultry character Burma in *Terry and the Pirates* stands as one of the best uses of music in a comic strip. [see Fig. 2] Caniff brought sophistication and poise to the adventure comic strip genre, which had previously been dominated by an earthier tone. *Dick Tracy*, for example, was never as polished or convincing as *Terry*.

Umphlett has stated that ". . . for anyone who wants to comprehend the peculiar feel and sense of a specific time and place earlier in this century, the comics, with their diurnal recording of the whims, foibles, fads, and vicissitudes of everyday living, exist as one of our richest sources . .

."[17] For no American cartoonist is that more true than Milton Caniff. His rigorous attention to the details of slang, dress and social mores provide fascinating evidence of changing times. The values that Caniff espoused in his work--such as patriotism and fair-play--were those of his time, and his failure to understand the so-called draft dodgers and bra burners of the late 1960s mirrored the confusion of many other Americans. The body of Milton Caniff's work provides many insights into twentieth century American life and values--in spite of its exotic locales and fantastic adventures.

Caniff has been described as expert in both the artistic and literary aspects of the comic strip.[18] His sense of design and composition are legendary, as may be seen in the *Terry* strip he drew for Christmas 1944. [see Fig. 3] Less attention has been paid to Caniff as a writer. He liked to describe himself as an "arm-chair Marco Polo," and his analogy to the explorer of new lands is apt. Caniff in fact did explore and conquer new aspects of story-telling in his medium and many of those tales remain gripping reading today.

An entire book could be written on Caniff's influence on the generation of cartoonists that followed him. Russell Nye stated that *Terry and the Pirates* had ". . . more imitators than any other comic strip in history."[19] Caniff's correspondence files contain hundreds of letters from aspiring cartoonists spanning more than fifty years--like those written by Mort Walker as a child in 1936, or notes sent by Garry Trudeau in the early 1970s. Caniff also influenced authors, as shown in his correspondence with writers such as Pete Hamill and Steve Becker.

Caniff and his fellow cartoonist at the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Harold Gray (creator of *Little Orphan Annie*), were among the first to use the comic strip for political commentary. Caniff was not poking fun at the system as Billy DeBeck had when Barney Google ran for the presidency. Caniff used the Japanese invasion of China and the terrible famine of the late 1930s as part of his storyline and the realism of his tale awakened his readers to the changing political climate in the Far East. The single best-known and most often reprinted *Terry and the Pirates* comic strip is the so-called "creed of the pilot" in which Flip Corkin shares his values with Terry shortly after the young pilot has received his flight certification. [see Fig. 4] The dialogue from this comic strip was read into the *Congressional Record* the day after it ran, and numerous fans wrote to thank Caniff for such a meaningful episode.

One of the boundaries most expanded by Caniff was his use of sex. To quote Jules Feiffer, "Caniff introduced coitus as a concept in the American comic strip. The idea that men slept with women was, until the advent of Pat Ryan's subtly suggestive romances, never hinted at by Caniff's contemporaries."[20] Caniff always directed his work toward adult readers, and sex (then as now) sold the product. The cartoonist combined the visual and textual elements of his medium to create the erotic. He did draw sexy women, but he used them as believable characters in adult stories. John Steinbeck had this to say in a letter to Caniff about his ultimate sex symbol, the Dragon Lady:

> You may not know it but you have warmed old bones and breathed on grey embers. You have caused sap to flow that I thought had forever gone into income tax and property settlements. It is a serious thing this one last strip tease of the delightful and deathless Dragon Lady . . .
>
> Again, thank you for the lady. I have been trying to get her alone for years.[21]

Caniff's ability to create realistic, likable characters is often overlooked. In his ground-breaking book, *The Comics*, Coulton Waugh states that one of the genre's most basic traits is continuing characters with whom readers can make friends.[22] Caniff understood this, and his stable of characters included people of many types who would be familiar to his readers. The letters he received when the character Raven Sherman died as part of a *Terry* story are evidence of the depth of his readers' caring. According to Caniff, "Letters and wires came into newspapers, syndicate offices, and my home by the thousands."[23] Although only 231 of these letters survive, they provide ample documentation of how seriously readers took the comic strip character's demise.[24]

The cartoonist's application of his early theatrical experiences are obvious in his dialogue and timing. Again using the Raven Sherman sequence as an example, the strips leading up to her death are masterful examples of Caniff's effective theatricality. His confidence both in the power of his medium and of his own artistic skills is obvious when the death and burial of Raven are shown as a series of wordless panels, a pantomime of sorrow: he took two days to convey the grief of her survivors. [see Fig. 5]

Related to Caniff's use of dramatic techniques is his application of a cinematic approach to his comic strips. He used long, medium, angle, and close-up shots in his comic strip panels rather than the familiar static layout. Jerry Robinson commented that "Moviemakers learned techniques from Milton."[25] A note from Frank Capra to Caniff confirms that: "I burn incense to cartoonists."[26] A somewhat different observation was made by Tony Auth after seeing the film *China Seas*: "I see that cinematic rip-offs of 'Terry' are nothing new."[27]

In a video made to celebrate Caniff's seventy-fifth birthday, Mel Casson recalled asking the cartoonist what he would have been if his career in cartooning had not worked out. According to Casson, Caniff answered without hesitation, "The head of a large advertising agency."[28] This is a telling reply, because the cartoonist did indeed spend much time and effort in promoting his comic strips. As mentioned previously, many of Caniff's volunteer activities indirectly benefitted his comic strip. Although his motivation to help with deserving causes was certainly genuine, the fact that his name remained before the public in positive ways was an obvious bonus for the hours he donated. Caniff was a known for his two- or three-sentence letters, written to fraternity brothers, young cartoonists, and fans alike to thank or congratulate them. The good will he produced by this gesture was enormous. By all accounts, Milton Caniff was a kind and generous person--but he also was a master at his own public relations.

Related to this was Caniff's understanding of his audience. According to one critic, "Caniff imposed his own limitations on himself. He knew his market, and he was, like so many of the best popular artists, instinctively in tune with his audience. His tastes and beliefs are the same as those of the vast majority."[29] His best work was done in the 1940s and early 1950s when his patriotic values were generally popular. When the war in Viet Nam escalated, Caniff did what he had done before and began to use it in his comic strip. [see Fig. 6] As times changed, however, Caniff did not; and he found himself losing newspapers because readers were angry about the militarism, sexism, racism and violence of his comic strip. In 1969 he lost at least fourteen papers, including the *New York Daily* and the *Paris Herald Tribune*.[30] A letter from King Features general sales manager R. K. Rogers to Caniff in 1969, relates why the *Salem (OR) Capital Journal* had dropped *Steve Canyon*: "Jim Welch, managing editor, tells me that they dropped STEVE CANYON because of airforce [sic] propaganda--and because of the hawkish attitude toward the Vietnamese war."[31]

It is interesting to note that the observation quoted above about Caniff's understanding of his audience was written in the mid-1980s when the pendulum had once again swung and Caniff's style of conservative values was more popular. It was, however, too late for him, and the comics page no longer provided the space to tell the intricate stories that he did best. In his later years, when attempting to gain readers, Caniff returned to the formula of his first comic strip, *Dickie Dare*, as he began to use dream sequences annually. Beginning with Steve Canyon's 1776 participation in the American Revolution (published in 1976) and continuing as he had adventures such as flying with the Wright Brothers (1978) or sleuthing with Sherlock Holmes (1985), these episodes were, for the most part, contrived and ineffective.

One of the problems in attempting an overview of Caniff's career is the absence of generally accepted measures of excellence to evaluate the work of any comic strip artist. There is no question that Caniff received an incredible number of awards in his lifetime--virtually all he could have hoped for. However, the ultimate recognition of the Pulitzer Prize eluded him. Not only was he somewhat of an outsider to the journalistic fraternity, he also expressed his conservative political philosophy in his comic strip, which alienated both readers and the Pulitzer judges.[32]

Popular art has been described as confirming the experience of the majority.[33] The response of the majority is, however, a fickle thing and cannot be used to sum up an entire career or to evaluate someone's impact on a field. For example, the highly praised comic strip *Krazy Kat* was never widely syndicated, but it nonetheless ranks at the top of its genre. It is not surprising that Milton Caniff held to his Boy Scout values and treasured the lessons he learned in Ohio. What must be remembered is that he did indeed "lift" the profession of cartooning and he raised considerably the quality of both the art and the writing of comic strips. In his attempt to articulate an aesthetic of the comic strip, Robert C. Harvey has stated that "To earn the highest accolades, a comic strip must not only continue an established tradition and meed the highest standards of it, it must expand that tradition or create a new one."[34] No better example of this can be found than the work of Milton Caniff.

NOTES

1. David Astor, "Study Finds Comics Read by 113 Million," *Editor and Publisher* 30 January 1993, 34.

2. John Paul Adams. *Milton Caniff: Rembrandt of the Comic Strip* (New York: David McCay Co.). 1946. John Paul Adams was a pseudonym for Clark Kinnard. In a letter to Caniff dated 8 March 1946 written on King Features Syndicate letterhead, Kinnard notes that the book is to be released ". . . during the week of the annual conventions of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Associated Press . . . Naturally, this timing is no coincidence." Milton Caniff Collection, The Ohio State University Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library (hereafter cited as MAC/OSU).

3. David Astor, "Milton Caniff 'lifted the level of comics,'" *Editor and Publisher* 16 April 1988, 37.

4. Astor, "Milton Caniff . . ." 34.

5. Because so much has been written about Caniff's life, this paper will include only the barest essentials. See, for example, "Bibliography of the Works of Milton Arthur Caniff" (also listing work about Caniff) which was published in multiple issues of the fanzine *Caniffites* (numbers 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 37, and 44) and ran to twenty-five typescript pages.

6. Numerous examples of Caniff's childhood work were saved by his mother and are available in the Caniff Collection at Ohio State University.

7. Milton Caniff. Photocopy of holograph letter to John Canemaker. [18 August 1985]. MAC/OSU.

8. Milton Caniff died 3 April 1988. Bunny Caniff died soon thereafter on 11 May 1988.

9. Milton Caniff, "The Sounding Board," *Milton Caniff's Steve Canyon Magazine* March 1984, 63.

10. See, for example, Martin Sheridan, *Comics and Their Creators* (New York: Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1942), 159; and John Bainbridge, "Significant Sig and the Funnies," *New Yorker* 8 January 1944, 25-37.

11. Miriam Ellen Morrison, "The Perceived Impact of Terry and the Pirates during the War Years, 1939-1945" (master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1978), 29.

12. "Buying a Comic Feature Sight Unseen," *Editor and Publisher* 19 May 1945, 33.

13. For a detailed anaylsis of Caniff's use of formula, see Lawrence E. Mintz, "Fantasy, Formula, Realism, and Propaganda in Milton Caniff's Comic Strips," *Journal of Popular Culture* Spring 1979, 653-680.

14. Interview with the author, 28 October 1991, Boca Raton, Florida.

15. Astor, "Milton Caniff . . ." 34.

16. Al Capp, Chic Young, Alex Raymond, and Charles Schulz had art school backgrounds. Walt Kelly and Willard Mullin were high school graduates. Roy Crane and Hank Ketcham attended college, but did not complete degrees.

17. Wiley Lee Umphlett, *Mythmakers of the American Dream* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1983),74.

18. See, for example, Richard Marschall, *America's Great Comic-Strip Artists*. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989), 209-210.

19. Russell Nye, *The Unembarrassed Muse* (New York: Dial, 1970), 225.

20. Jules Feiffer, "Milton Caniff: Evolution and Revolution," in *The Complete Color Terry and the Pirates*, ed. Richard Marschall (Abington, PA: Remco Worldservice Books, 1990), 6.

21. John Steinbeck. Signed typescript. 6 May 1942. MAC/OSU.

22. Coulton Waugh, *The Comics* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 14.

23. Milton Caniff, "Don't Laugh at the Comics," *Cosmopolitan* November 1958: 46.

24. Morrison, "The Perceived Impact," 102 ff.

25. Astor, "Milton Caniff . . ." 34.

26. Frank Capra. Signed typescript letter dated 2 November 1977. MAC/OSU.

27. Tony Auth. Holograph letter 20 August 1987. MAC/OSU.

28. Lew Sayre Schwartz, "Reflections of an Armchair Marco Polo," 1982. Videotape. MAC/OSU.

29. Arn Saba, "I'm Just a Troubadour Singing for My Supper," *The Comics Journal* 108(May 1986), 67.

30. Typescript list. 1 December 1969. MAC.

31. R. K. Rogers. Signed typescript letter. 29 December 1979. MAC/OSU.

32. Materials documenting the 1988 nomination of Caniff for a special Pulitzer Prize such as Dr. Seuss had received are in the Caniff Collection at Ohio State University.

33. Nye, *The Unembarrassed Muse*, 4.

34. Robert C. Harvey, "The Aesthetics of the Comic Strip," *Journal of Popular Culture* 12:4(Spring 1979): 645-646.

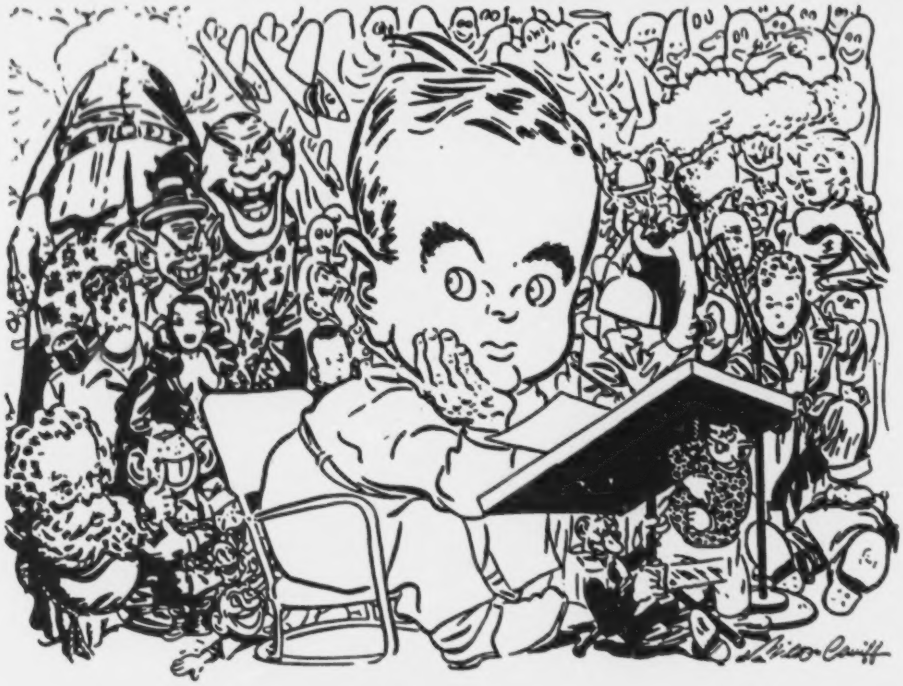
Milton Caniff

Figure 1. Milton Caniff. Self-caricature. 1943.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1941

TERRY AND THE PIRATES—WINDOW DRESSER

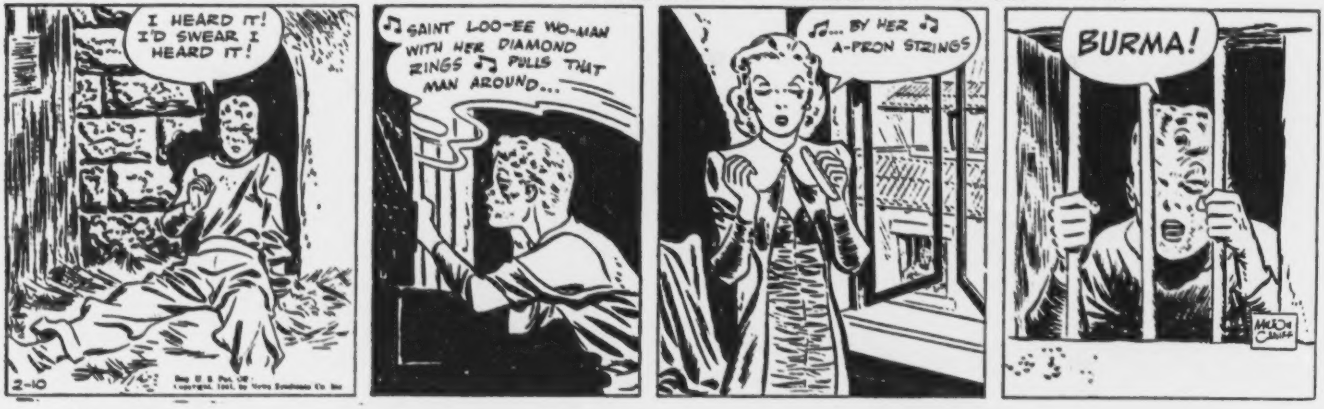
I HEARD IT! I'D SWEAR I HEARD IT!
2-10
♫ SAINT LOO-EE WO-MAN WITH HER DIAMOND RINGS ♫ PULLS THAT MAN AROUND...
♫... BY HER ♫ A-PRON STRINGS
BURMA!
MILTON CANIFF

Figure 2.

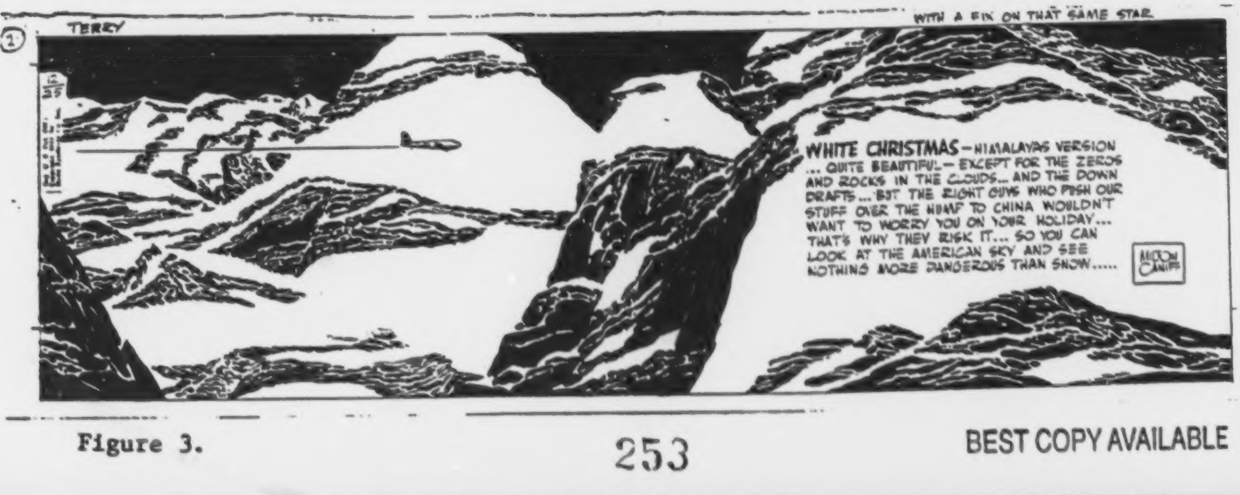
WITH A FIN ON THAT SAME STAR
TERRY
12-25
WHITE CHRISTMAS—HIMALAYAS VERSION ... QUITE BEAUTIFUL—EXCEPT FOR THE ZEROS AND ROCKS IN THE CLOUDS... AND THE DOWN DRAFTS... BUT THE RIGHT GUYS WHO PUSH OUR STUFF OVER THE HUMP TO CHINA WOULDN'T WANT TO WORRY YOU ON YOUR HOLIDAY... THAT'S WHY THEY RISK IT... SO YOU CAN LOOK AT THE AMERICAN SKY AND SEE NOTHING MORE DANGEROUS THAN SNOW.....
MILTON CANIFF

Figure 3.

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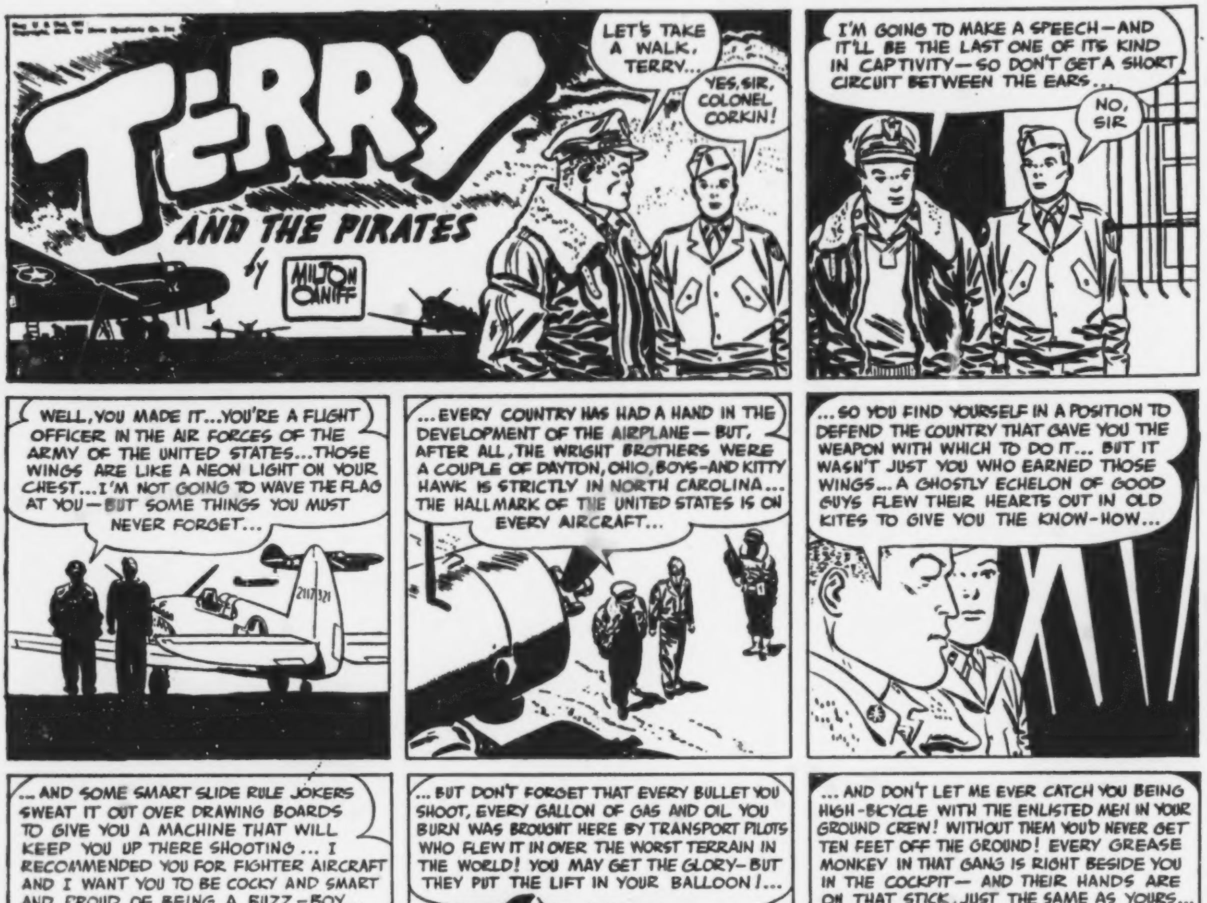
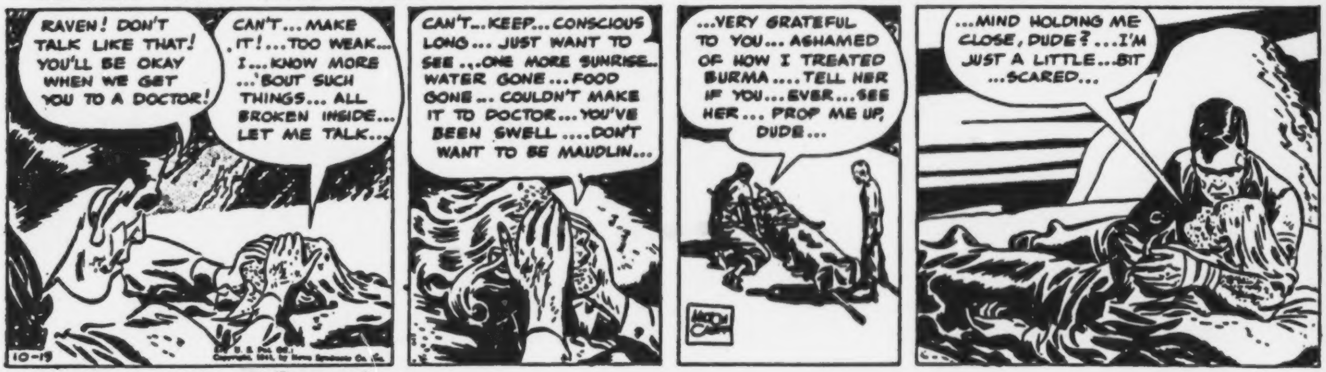

TERRY AND THE PIRATES
by MILTON CANIFF
LET'S TAKE A WALK, TERRY...
YES, SIR, COLONEL CORKIN!
I'M GOING TO MAKE A SPEECH—AND IT'LL BE THE LAST ONE OF ITS KIND IN CAPTIVITY—SO DON'T GET A SHORT CIRCUIT BETWEEN THE EARS...
NO, SIR
WELL, YOU MADE IT...YOU'RE A FLIGHT OFFICER IN THE AIR FORCES OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES...THOSE WINGS ARE LIKE A NEON LIGHT ON YOUR CHEST...I'M NOT GOING TO WAVE THE FLAG AT YOU—BUT SOME THINGS YOU MUST NEVER FORGET...
...EVERY COUNTRY HAS HAD A HAND IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AIRPLANE—BUT, AFTER ALL, THE WRIGHT BROTHERS WERE A COUPLE OF DAYTON, OHIO, BOYS—AND KITTY HAWK IS STRICTLY IN NORTH CAROLINA...THE HALLMARK OF THE UNITED STATES IS ON EVERY AIRCRAFT...
...SO YOU FIND YOURSELF IN A POSITION TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY THAT GAVE YOU THE WEAPON WITH WHICH TO DO IT... BUT IT WASN'T JUST YOU WHO EARNED THOSE WINGS...A GHOSTLY ECHELON OF GOOD GUYS FLEW THEIR HEARTS OUT IN OLD KITES TO GIVE YOU THE KNOW-HOW...
...AND SOME SMART SLIDE RULE JOKERS SWEAT IT OUT OVER DRAWING BOARDS TO GIVE YOU A MACHINE THAT WILL KEEP YOU UP THERE SHOOTING ... I RECOMMENDED YOU FOR FIGHTER AIRCRAFT AND I WANT YOU TO BE COCKY AND SMART AND PROUD OF BEING A BUZZ-BOY...
...BUT DON'T FORGET THAT EVERY BULLET YOU SHOOT, EVERY GALLON OF GAS AND OIL YOU BURN WAS BROUGHT HERE BY TRANSPORT PILOTS WHO FLEW IT IN OVER THE WORST TERRAIN IN THE WORLD! YOU MAY GET THE GLORY—BUT THEY PUT THE LIFT IN YOUR BALLOON!...
...AND DON'T LET ME EVER CATCH YOU BEING HIGH-BICYCLE WITH THE ENLISTED MEN IN YOUR GROUND CREW! WITHOUT THEM YOU'D NEVER GET TEN FEET OFF THE GROUND! EVERY GREASE MONKEY IN THAT GANG IS RIGHT BESIDE YOU IN THE COCKPIT— AND THEIR HANDS ARE ON THAT STICK, JUST THE SAME AS YOURS...
...YOU'LL GET ANGRY AS THE DEVIL AT THE ARMY AND ITS SO-CALLED RED TAPE...BUT BE PATIENT WITH IT...SOMEHOW THE OLD EAGLE HAS MANAGED TO END UP IN POSSESSION OF THE BALL IN EVERY WAR SINCE 1776—SO JUST HUMOR IT ALONG...
14th AIR FORC
U.S.
OKAY, SPORT, END OF SPEECH...WHEN YOU GET UP IN THAT "WILD BLUE YONDER" THE SONG TALKS ABOUT—REMEMBER, THERE ARE A LOT OF GOOD GUYS MISSING FROM MESS TABLES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, ALASKA, AFRICA, BRITAIN, ASIA AND BACK HOME WHO ARE SORTA COUNTING ON YOU TO TAKE IT FROM HERE! GOOD NIGHT, KID!
10-17
This way to TOKIO! Next stop U.S.A.

Figure 4.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

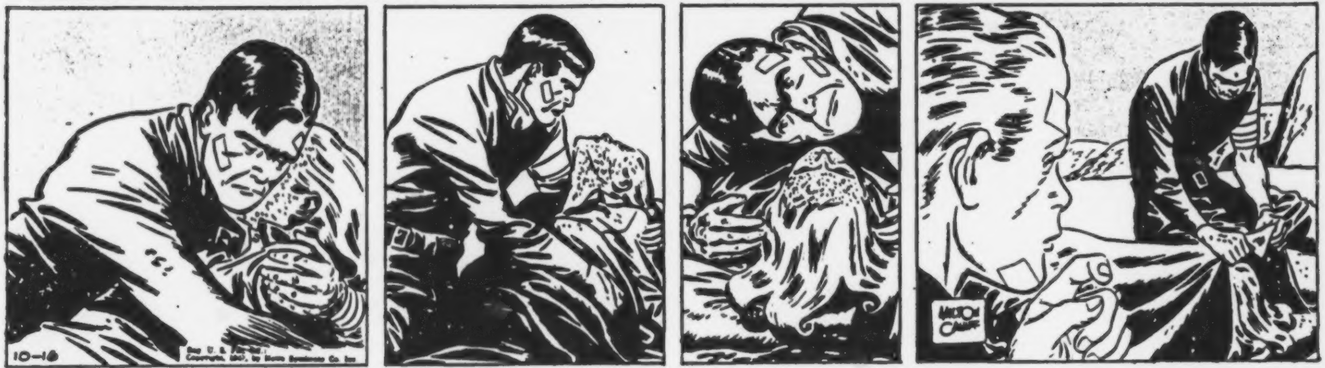
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1941

TERRY AND THE PIRATES—"JUST TO WALK IN THE SUN ONCE MORE"


RAVEN! DON'T TALK LIKE THAT! YOU'LL BE OKAY WHEN WE GET YOU TO A DOCTOR!
CAN'T... MAKE IT!... TOO WEAK... I... KNOW MORE ...'BOUT SUCH THINGS... ALL BROKEN INSIDE... LET ME TALK...
CAN'T... KEEP... CONSCIOUS LONG... JUST WANT TO SEE... ONE MORE SUNRISE... WATER GONE... FOOD GONE... COULDN'T MAKE IT TO DOCTOR... YOU'VE BEEN SWELL.... DON'T WANT TO BE MAUDLIN...
...VERY GRATEFUL TO YOU... ASHAMED OF HOW I TREATED BURMA.... TELL HER IF YOU... EVER... SEE HER... PROP ME UP, DUDE...
...MIND HOLDING ME CLOSE, DUDE?... I'M JUST A LITTLE... BIT ...SCARED...
10-15

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1941

TERRY AND THE PIRATES—"LOVE NOT, YE HOPELESS SONS OF CLAY"



FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1941

TERRY AND THE PIRATES—AS IT MUST TO EVERYONE

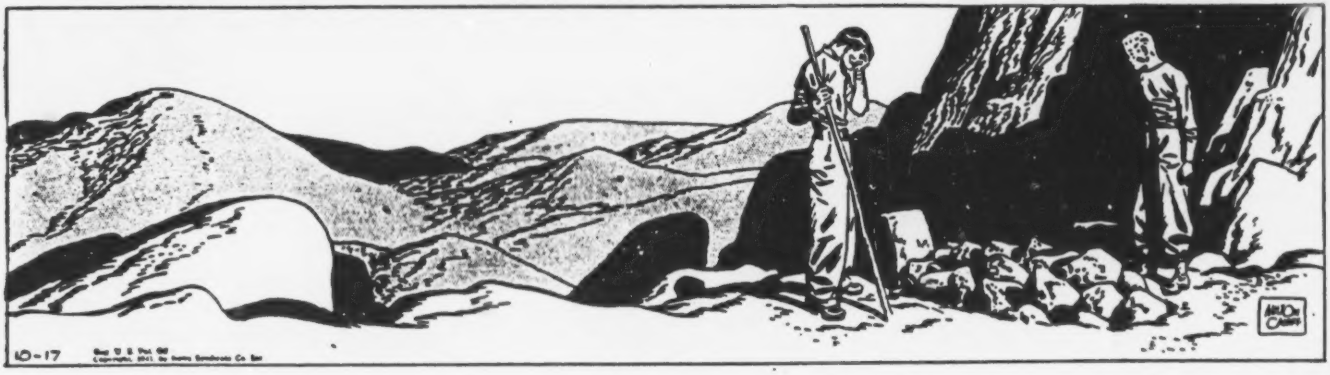


Figure 5.

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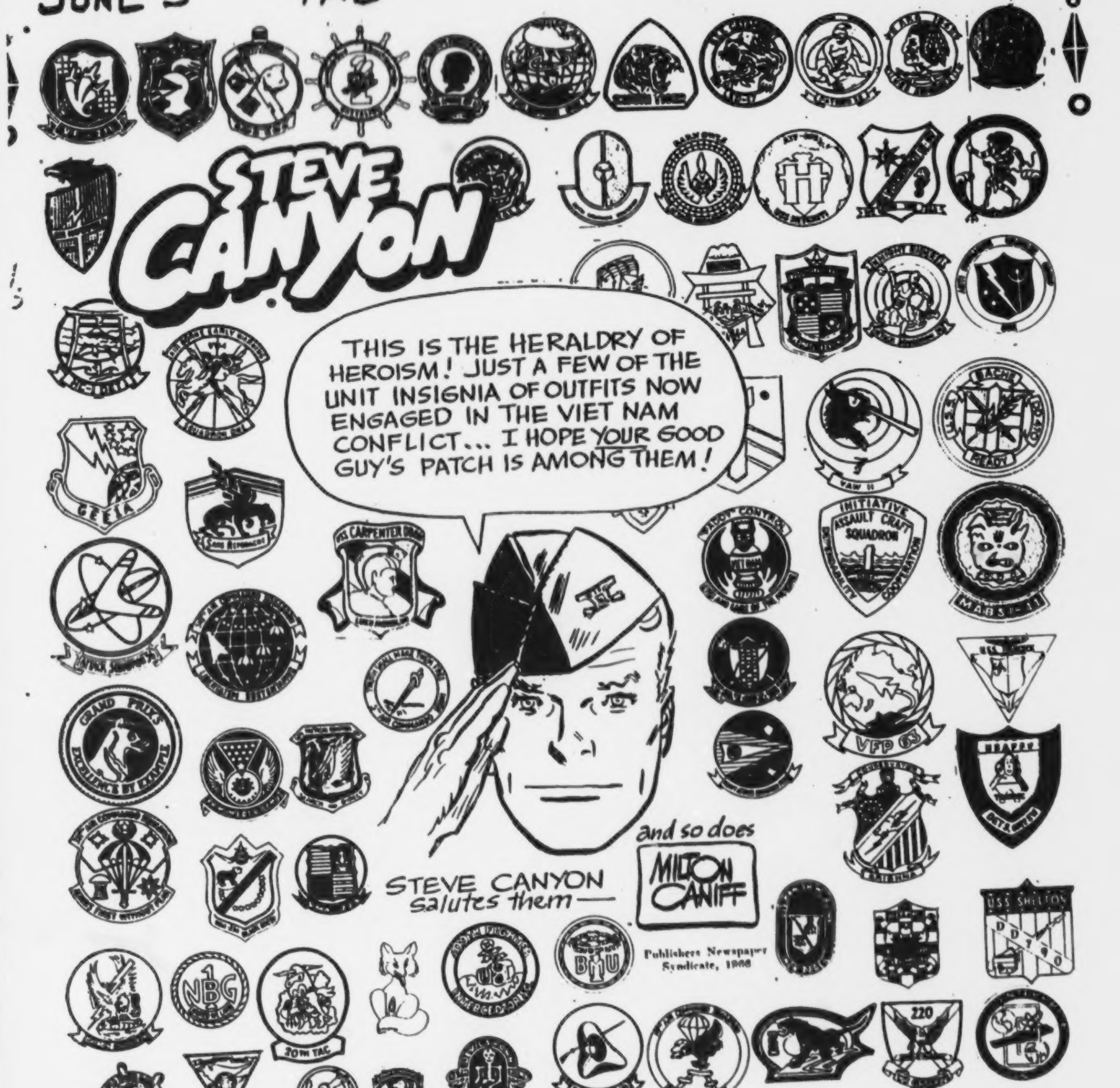
JUNE 5 TAB

22


STEVE CANYON
THIS IS THE HERALDRY OF HEROISM! JUST A FEW OF THE UNIT INSIGNIA OF OUTFITS NOW ENGAGED IN THE VIET NAM CONFLICT... I HOPE YOUR GOOD GUY'S PATCH IS AMONG THEM!
STEVE CANYON salutes them—
and so does
MILTON CANIFF
Publishers Newspaper Syndicate, 1968
GEEIA
GRAND PRIX EXCELLENCE BY EXAMPLE
INITIATIVE ASSAULT CRAFT SQUADRON
MABS1-11
VAW 11
READY
VFP 63
USS SHELTON DD 790
NBG
30TH TAC
220
MOTRODUS SUPERSONICUS
USS CALVERT APA 32
6-5

JUNE 5

14978 9/4 84.

Figure 6

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CS

Campbell's *Boston News-Letter:* Some Not-So-Boring Sheets of News

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Campbell's *Boston News-Letter:* Some Not-So-Boring Sheets of News

ABSTRACT

Most journalism historians present John Campbell's *Boston News-Letter,* the first newspaper successfully published in the Colonies, as being very dull, and blame Campbell's circulation struggles on the paper's content. They say that the news stories, both foreign and domestic, were stale, unimportant and uninteresting to Campbell's readers. Only historian Frank Luther Mott praises Campbell's news judgment, and Mott is right. A review of the early issues of the *News-Letter* suggests that what Campbell published in the first years of the paper must have engaged his readers, and might even prove interesting to readers almost 300 years later.

Campbell's *Boston News-Letter:* Some Not-So-Boring Sheets of News

"The *Boston News-Letter* of Monday, April 24, 1704, is indeed, a pitiful enough affair," Elizabeth Christine Cook wrote in 1912.[1] "For 15 years the *News-Letter* held an undisputed monopoly of dullness."[2] The conventional wisdom among scholars who followed Cook has it that John Campbell's *Boston News-Letter*, which went unchallenged as the only paper in the Colonies from 1704 to 1719, was a dull newspaper indeed.

John Hohenberg describes the earliest days of the *Boston News-Letter* as "slow and uninspired, quiet and devoid of the conflict that is inevitably stirred up by controversialists of the Ben Harris[3] stripe."[4] Willard Bleyer agrees: "Campbell edited his paper in a conservative and uninspired manner."[5] Even when the News-Letter is challenged 15 years later by William Brooker's *Boston Gazette*, Blyer says, "In its early years, like the *News-Letter*, it was a mere chronicle of foreign and some domestic news, dry and uninteresting."[6] The authors of some of the textbooks most often used in journalism history classes agree with the other scholars. According to Sloan, Stovall and Startt, "the *News-Letter* borrowed much of its content, was visually unattractive, and made dull reading."[7] Campbell's style was "crude as well as dull," says Sidney Kobre, resulting in a *News-Letter* that is "terse and drab."[8] Michael and Edwin Emery call Campbell's local news coverage, though it was not emphasized in the paper, "surprisingly informative," but overall the *Boston News-Letter* was "savorless journalism, after Harris' reports on bloodthirsty savages and lustful kings. Campbell cleared all the copy with the governor, or with his secretary. That made his paper libel-proof, censor-proof, and well-nigh reader-proof."[9]

---

[1] *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers 1704-1750*, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, N.Y., 1966 Reissue, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 9.

[3] Publisher of *Publick Occurrences*, the first attempt at a newspaper in the 1690s, which was confiscated and banned by the governor of Massachusetts.

[4] *Free Press, Free People*, Macmillan, New York, 1973, p. 32.

[5] *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1927, p. 50.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 51-52.

[7] Sloan, Wm. David, James Stovall and James Startt, Eds., *The Media in America*, Publishing Horizons, Scottsdale, Ariz., 1993, p. 32.

[8] *Development of American Journalism*, Wm. C. Brown, Dubuque, Iowa, 1972, p. 18.

[9] *The Press and America*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1988, p. 25.

In the minority is Frank Luther Mott, who credits the *Boston News-Letter* with meeting the needs and interests of its readers:

> With so little space at his disposal, Editor Campbell, knowing probably as well as anyone could the reader-interests of his patrons, filled about two-thirds of his paper with news taken from London journals and dealing chiefly with English politics and court and with European wars. The remainder of an average issue was filled with items, usually very brief, about the arrival of ships, deaths, sermons, political appointments, storms, Indian depredations, privateering and piracies, counterfeiting, fires, accidents, court actions, and so on. Maritime news was always of importance. A few advertisements usually appeared at the bottom of the last column. The early *News-Letter* seems very unexciting to a modern reader, but its news values should not be underestimated.[10]

Mott may be lonely in his estimation of Campbell's news judgment — but he is right — and a look back at the contents of some early issues of the *Boston News-Letter* will illustrate the editor's news values, and the degree to which his paper must have captured its readers' interests.

Before looking at the contents of the *Boston News-Letter,* it's important to define its audience. The city of Boston in 1704 had a population of about 10,000. Its principal business was commerce, supported by farming and small manufacturing. Most citizens were British: many had come to the Massachusetts looking for religious freedom, others to seek their fortune. The royal governor administered the colony, appointed by the Crown with the consent of Parliament. There was little discontent with the British government at this time, and most important citizens expressed loyalty to Parliament and the Queen.

As postmaster, Campbell was in an excellent position to publish a paper; he had access to newspapers from London and other European capitals, letters written by merchants, politicians and military men, and the word-of-mouth accounts of the captains of the ships that arrived regularly in Boston. By the time he launched the paper, he already had a small but read-made audience. The information that came to the postmaster's office was important and interesting enough that for two or three years before 1704 he had already been preparing a "newsletter" by hand, which he distributed to be shared among merchants and other interested readers. The hand-written newsletter soon proved too burdensome, even though Campbell's brother helped him prepare it, but it must have been his old readers Campbell had in mind when he wrote the following advertisement that appeared at the end of the first issue of the *Boston News-Letter*:

> This News Letter is to be continued weekly; and all persons who have any houses, lands, tenements, farmes, ships vessels, goods, wares or merchandizes, &c. to be sold, or lett; or servants

---

[10] *American Journalism,* Macmillan, New York, 1962, pp. 11-12.

> run away; or goods stoll or lost, may have the same inserted at a reasonable rate; from twelve pence to five shillings and not to exceed: Who may agree with Nicholas Boone for the same at his shop, next door to Major Davis's, apothecary in Boston, near the Old Meeting-House.
>
> All persons in town and country may have said News-Letter weekly upon reasonable tearms, agreeing with John Campbell Post-Master for the same.[11]

As Mott suggests, Campbell filled the first two-thirds of his paper with news from abroad, taken, according to the accepted practice of the day, directly from London newspapers, or from letters that passed through his hands. The first issue is typical, beginning with fourth-hand information that started as a "(news)sheet" printed in Scotland, was copied in a letter sent to London, then was published in the *London Flying-Post,* from which Campbell takes his copy. Readers of the *Boston News-Letter* would have great interest in the lead article about the conflict between Protestants and Catholics, "Intitled, A Seasonable Alarm for Scotland," with its references to the potential danger to Queen Anne posed by the "pretended King James VIII," who is suspected of being a Catholic:

> *In a letter from a gentleman in the city, to his friend in the country, concerning the present danger of the Kingdom and of the Protestant religion.*
>
> This letter takes notice, that Papists swarm in that nation, that they traffick more avowedly than formerly, and that of late many scores of priests & Jesuites are come thither from France, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other places of he country. The ministers of the Highlands and North gave in large lists of them to the Committee of the General Assembly, to be laid before the Privy-Council.
>
> It likewise observes, that a great number of other ill-affected persons are come over from France, under pretence of accepting her Majesty's gracious indemnity; but, in reality, to increase divisions in the nation, and to entertain a correspondence with France: That their ill intentions are evident from their talking big, their owning the interest of the pretended King James VIII, their secret cabals, and their buying up of arms and ammunition, wherever they can find them.
>
> To this he adds the late writings and actings of some disaffected persons, many of whom are for that pretender; that several of them have declar'd they had rather embrace Popery than conform to the present government, that they refuse to pray for the Queen, but use the ambiguous word Soveraign, and some of them pray in express words for the King and Royal Family; and the charitable and generous Prince who has show'd them so much kindness. He likewise takes notice of letters, not long ago found in cypher, & directed to a person lately come thither from St. Germains.
>
> He says that the greatest Jacobites, who will not qualifie themselves by taking the oaths to her Majesty, do now with the Papists and their companions from St. Germains set up for the liberty of the subject, contrary to their own principles, but meerly to keep up a division in the nation. He adds, that they aggravate those things which the people complain of, as to England's refusing to allow them a freedom of trade, &c. and do all they can to foment divisions betwixt the nations, & to obstruct a redress of more things complain'd of.
>
> The Jacobites, he says, do all they can to persuade the nation that their pretended King is a Protestant in his heart, tho' he dares not declare it while under the power of France, that he is acquainted with the mistakes of his father's government, will govern us more according to law,

---

[11] *Boston News-Letter,* No. 1, April 24, 1704.

> and endear himself more to his subjects.
>
> They magnifie the strength of their own party, and the weakness and divisions of the other, in order to facilitate and hasten their undertaking; they argue themselves out of their fears, and into the highest assurance of accomplishing their purpose.
>
> From all this he infers, that they have hopes of assistance from France, otherwise they would never be so impudent; and he gives reasons for his apprehensions the the French King may send troops thither this winter, 1. Because the English & Dutch will not then be at sea to oppose them. 2. He can then best spare them, the season of action beyond sea being over. 3. The expectation given him of a considerable number to joyn them, may incourage him to the undertaking with fewer men, if he can but send over a sufficient number of officers with arms and ammunition.
>
> ...The Jacobites, he says, both in Scotland and in St. Germains, are impatient under their present straits, and knowing their circumstances cannot be much worse than they are, at present, are the more inclinable to the undertaking. He adds, that the French King knows there cannot be a more effectual way for himself to arrive at the Universal Monarchy, and to ruine the Protestant interest, than by setting up the Pretender upon the Throne of Great Britain, he will in all probability attempt it; and tho' he should be persuaded that the design would miscarry in the close, yet he cannot but reap some advantage by imbroiling the three nations.
>
> From all this the author concludes it to be the interest of the nation, to provide for self defence; and says, that as many have already taken the alarm, and are furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, he hopes the government will not only allow it, but encourage it, since the nation ought all to appear as one man in the defence of our Gracious Soveraign the Queen and her just Right and Title to the Crown, against the bloody designs of Papists and Jacobites.[12]

The discussion of the potential dangers posed by the "papists," first in Scotland and then in Ireland, was followed by an account of Queen Anne's speech to Parliament four months earlier, for a total of one-and-one-half pages of the two-page first issue of the *News-Letter* devoted to European news. The last half page was made up of Colonial items, including brief descriptions of ships encountering enemy vessels, and a listing of ship arrivals and upcoming departures. All in all, the first issue must have seemed exotic, informative and interesting to its Boston readers.

Foreign news often was even more interesting in subsequent issues. Information about battles between troops representing allies of the Crown and her enemies could be quite well detailed. The following list of allied troops is particularly specific:

> Hague, April 1. It will not be improper to observe that Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, having in her own pay 50000 men, & the states a much greater number, those two powers alone can send a greater army into the field, than what the French can pretend to, and have besides a strong body on the Rhine and Mozelle, to assist the Empire.
>
> By the last mail from Germany, we had a list of the forces of the Empire which are to serve this campaign in the field, without including those that are in Friburgh, Phillipsburgh, and some other places, which list is as follows: the Elector Palatine, including such of his Troops as are in the Pay of the States, 16000; the Circle of Franconia, 20000; the Circle of Suabia, 8000; Brunswick Luneburgh, 2600; the King of Prussia,15000; the Landgrave of Darmstat, 1500; the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, besides his Quota, 700; the Elector of Meinz, 1500; the Duke of

---

[12] *Ibid.*

> Gottorp, 400; the Circle of Westphalia, 5000; the Imperialists, with the Saxons, 12000; Total, 82700.[13]

That listing of available troops is followed by a compelling account of a series of battles reported from Vienna and dated April 2:

> On the 22d. of the last month a party of 800 of the Malecontents of Hungary advanced into the neighborhood of this place, and burnt the villages of Schweckct and Mansworth, and others, after which they retired to their former posts. This occasioned a great alarm in the city; the burghers were ordered to take arms, and a line to be made without the suburbs, to secure them from any attempt. The 26th Adjutant-General Maltemberg arrived here from the Imperial Army under General Heister, with several colours which had been taken from the Male-contents in 3 or four different engagements, on the 22d, 23 and 24th past, whereof the adjutant gives the following account; General Heister marched the 22nd from Ebenfurth with intent to attack Count Caroli, who lay at Eisenstadt with the body of the Malecontents under his command; but upon his arrival there, found the place abandoned by the enemy, who had carried away with them 4 pieces of cannon, and all the provisions that were in the place; a great part whereof was retaken by General Heister at Golz, a considerable village on the Lake of Neusidel, where he overtook a body of Malecontents; 200 of them having posted themselves in the churchyard, and pretending to make resistance, were all put to the sword. The two days following the Imperialists continued to pursue the Malecontents along the lake, & having overtaken their main body near St. Nichola, entirely routed them & took from them 14 pieces of cannon, with a great number of oxen, and a considerable quantity of corn, wine, and other provisions. It is said, this body of rebels consisted at first of 10000 hussars, and 3000 foot; the first made little resistance, but the foot defended themselves very well; about 700 of them were killed, and as many drowned, either in the Lake of Neusidel, or in the River Leita; two of their officers were brought prisoners to Brug, but to the rest the Germans gave no quarter. Count Caroli seeing his forces quite dispersed, made his escape into the Island Schut. This express left General Heister at St. Nichola, preparing to march toward Raab, with intent to refresh his men in & about the island above-mentioned. The 31st past, 250 of the Malecontents, who had been taken prisoners by General Heister's forces in some other rencounter, were brought hither, who are employed in working on the new lines which are making for the security of our suburbs. This expedition has freed the City of Oedenburgh, which had been in a manner blocked up weeks. The garrison & inhabitants of that place had also made some successful sallies against the rebels before their retreat, having in one killed above 100 of them, and in another which happened on the 23d past, surprised 370 more in the Village of Comthofe, where they took 49 prisoners, & killed all the rest. Thus all this side of the Danube is cleared of the Malcontents, except at Guntz, a town 3 leagues distant from Oedenburgh, where it is believed there may be about 3000 of them. Lieut.-Colonel Gerberstein, who is captain of the Rasoians, passed over the Drave at Vero on the 26th past with 10000 men, & the Ban of Croatia is shortly expected at Dornia, with a considerable body of Croats, in order to join the former, and march into Hungary, where they are to act against the Malecontents in concert with General Heister. The peasants of Croatia have retaken the Castle of Briestein from the rebels.[14]

News from abroad could be critical, as in the case of the battle descriptions above, or it could be trivial, as suggested by a gossipy paragraph about an important British personage:

> Scotland, Letters from thence confirm the death of the Duke of Argil: his son the young Duke

---

[13] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 22, Sept. 11, 1704.

[14] *Ibid.*

> being then in Flanders, came over to the Court, and was kindly received by Her Majesty the QUEEN, who conferr'd upon him his father's place, of being Captain to Her Majesties Guards in Scotland; said to be a very brisk youth: wrote home to his friends, that he would stand by the Established Government.[15]

But perhaps the most compelling early foreign coverage in the *Boston News-Letter* concerns a storm that hit the English coast in late 1703:

> London, 26. instant (Nov., 1703), about 11. in the evening, began the most violent storm of wind, being W.S.W, that ever was known in England; between the gusts it resembl'd thunder at a distance, with great flashes of lightening, and continu'd till about 7 the next morning, blowing down a multitude of chimnies, houses, and tops of houses, whereby a great many people were kill'd in their beds, and several wounded. It blew down a great number of trees in S. James's Park, the Inns of Courts, and Moorfields, and divers other places; abundance being torn up by the roots, and some of great bigness broken off in the middle: Several spires were beat off the steeples, and great quantities of lead rol'd up like scrols of parchment, and blown off the churches, halls, houses. A great many vessels, barges, and boats sunk in the River of Thames; and the water flow'd a great hight into Westminster-Hall, and London-bridge was stop'd up with wrecks; but it pleased God some were almost miraculously preserv'd, particularly two young men at a drugster's near Cheap Side; the chamber where they lay being broken down by the fall of a stack of chimnies (from a house adjoining) thro' two floors to them, and carryed them down in their bed asleep to the shop, where they were taken out from under the rubbish, without any considerable harm. Another person lying over a stable in Bell Savage Inn, on Ludgate-hill, the floor sunk, and he in his bed fell into the stable, without receiving any hurt. From the country we hear at Bristol it blew down a church, and that the tide was so high in the streets, they were forc'd to pass about in boats, and that a great many hogsheads of tobacco and other goods were floating about the city; and that the damage amounted to 150000.*l*. From the City of Wells, that the Bishop of the Diocese, and his Lady, were kill'd by a stack of chimnies falling into the bed where they lay. And also from several other places, that it would be almost endless to enumerate the mischief occasion'd by this storm.[16]

The following week Campbell published an account of reaction to the storm in Parliament, along with the Queen's response:

> Upon this dismal occasion, the House of Commons resolved *Nomine Contradicente,* That an humble address be presented unto Her Majesty, expressing the great sense this house hath of the Calamity fallen upon the Kingdom by the late violent storm; and that this house cannot see any domination of Her Majesties Navy, without making Provision to repair the same. Therefore they humbly beseech Her Majesty, that She would immediately give direction for repairing this loss, and for building such Capital ships as Her Majesty shall think fit, and to assure Her Majesty, that at the next meeting this house will effectually make good that expence, and will give dispatch in raising the Supplies already Voted for making good Her Majesties Treaties with the King of Portugal, and all Her Majesties other Allies, and will consider of effectual ways for promoting of Trade, and for Manning Her Majesties Navy Royal, and for encouraging the Seamen; and that in the meantime Her Majesty will graciously think of some Provision for the Families of those Seamen, who have been lost out of Her Majesties Ships in this Storm, until this House can Provide for the same.
>
> Which being presented to Her, by the House in a body, Her Majesty was pleased to give this gracious answer.

---

[15] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 2, May 1, 1704.

[16] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 6, May 29, 1704.

> *Gentlemen, I Return you many Thanks for the assurances you give Me of your dispatching the necessary supplies for carrying on the War, and of your making good the expence of the damage happened to the Navy by the late Storm: for the repairing of which I shall use all possible diligence and application, and with great hopes of seeing it speedily effected, by the blessing of God, and your kind assistance.*
>
> *I shall carefully comply with what you desire for relieving the Families of such poor Seamen as have perished in the Storm, and always concur with you very readily in promoting the Publick welfare.*[17]

That account was preceded by a tabular listing of what happened to the ships and the men of Her Majesty's Navy, which is the **first** chart published in a newspaper in America:

London *November* 30. 1703

A List of Her Majesties Ships cast away in the Late Storm, with an Account of the Number of Men Lost.

Numb.	Ships Names.	Rates.	Places Lost.	Men drowned.	Men Saved.	Officers Saved & Lost
1	Reserve	4	Yarmouth	175	44	Capt. Anderson, Surgeon, & Clark Saved.
2	Vanguard	2	Chatham harbour.			Neither Men nor Guns in her.
3	Northumberland	3	Goodwin Sands	220		Capt. Greenaway lost.
4	Sterling Castle	3	Goodwin Sands	206	66	4 Marine Officers Saved.
5	Restoration	3	Goodwin Sands	391		Rear Admiral Beaumont Lost.
6	The Mary	4	Goodwin Sands	269	1	Cpt. Ed. Hopson ashore & Purser.
7	Mortarbomb	5	Goodwin Sands	65		Cpt. Raymond all lost.
8	Eagle adice-boat	6	Coast Sussex		45	Cpt. Bostock all Saved.
9	Resolution	3	Coast Sussex		221	Cpt. Lisle all Saved.
10	Litchfield prize	2	Coast Sussex		108	Cpt. Chamberlain hopes to get her off.
11	New-Castle	4	Spithead	193	39	Cpt. Carter lost, Carpenter Saved.
12	Vesuvius fire ship	5	Spithead		48	Cpt. Paddon hopes to get her off.
13	Arundel	5			115	Hopes to get her off.
14	The Yorke	4	Near Harwich Some days before	4	316	

The Total of Seamen Lost 1523. 1003.

> By the List above it appears that the loss of Seamen is very considerable, but not so great as it was feared, because the ships were not fully Manned.[18]

The stories about religious unrest and battles and storms, selected from a variety of papers he received from London, suggest Campbell had a keen sense of what news from abroad might be important and interesting to his potential readers. Would Campbell show the same good judgment in presenting local and Colonial news? Most of the scholars cited earlier agree that the news from other Colonies was mostly dull, and that "the early *News-Letter* contained virtually no local news," because "it was assumed local readers knew about local events, thus giving newspapers no reason to run local news."[19] But a review of early local and Colonial news items suggests a different view. The following paragraphs, which appeared consecutively, suggest Campbell understood the potential news value of a detailed fire story:

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[17] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 7, June 5, 1704.

[18] *Ibid.*

> Cambridge, Octob. 29. About 1 of the clock in the morning there happened a fire in Harvard College occasioned by a foul chimney which took fire, and the soot being blown into the belfrey, fired some old Boards, and melted the Lead (wherewith the College was covered) and then Fired the planks; but one of the tutors having the key of the scuttle which was lockt and barr'd was absent, wherefore 2 of the students putting their backs to the scuttle, forced it open, and threw water briskly, so that they quickly extinguisht the fire, which otherwise had been of very ill consequence.
>
> Piscataqua, Novemb. 2. On Monday the 30th last about break of day, the house of the Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, minister of Portsmouth, was burnt to the ground in a few minutes, his youngest child, and a negro woman of Mrs. Elatsons, his mother-in-law, consumed in the flames, nothing saved but himself, his wife, mother-in-law, two children, and the servant maid, as they got out of bed without cloaths; Mrs. Elatson saved the eldest child by throwing him out of a chamber window into his fathers arms, and immediately thereafter Mr. Rogers got a ladder for his mother-in-law, and so got her out at the window, who is much burned in her legs & arms, but think not dangerous to life. None can tell how this fire came, most probably it began in their kitchen; the fire was so violent by reason of the high wind, that had there been never so many people to quench it, and help to save the goods, 'twere impossible to save anything.[20]

The deaths of the child and servant suggest another kind of news that would be of high interest to Campbell's readers, as exemplified by the following brief obituaries:

> Boston, July 3, On Tuesday morning dyed Madam Anne Richards: was buryed on Thursday last. On Fryday died Madam Anna Paige: was buried yesterday.[21]

More interesting than the typical news briefs noting deaths that probably resulted from natural causes were stories of less usual deaths, such as the following engaging account of the accidental death of the granddaughter of a prominent person:

> Milford, May 30. Sabbath day last, about noon, after forenoons exercise, Mrs. Jane Treat, Grand Daughter to Deputy Governour Treat of Connecticut, sitting in her chair in the corner, with the Bible in her hand, as she was reading, which was her delight, was struck dead by a terrible flash of lightening, preceding a great clap of thunder, it kill'd her in a moment, without knowing any thing of the pangs of death; her body was much wounded, not torn but burnt, and spotted one side of her from the crown to the sole of her foot. She was a person of real piety, and a pattern of patience, modesty and sobriety. This so awful a stroke on so righteous a person and family, is a most amazing and mysterious Providence, deeply afflictive to her grandfather, relations & others.[22]

In addition to the standard obituary sentences and the more detailed accounts of unusual

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[19] Sloan, Stovall and Startt, P. 32.

[20] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 29, Nov. 6, 1704.

[21] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 11, July 3, 1704.

[22] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 8, June 12, 1704.

deaths, Campbell made the Boston News-Letter a public record of deaths in the community, as reflected in the following chart that would have held high interest for its readers:

> Boston. Because it may carry some useful information in it, we have thought it not amiss, to give the publick, the Bill of Mortality for the three years last past.
>
> *The number of persons, besides Negro's and Indians, which were buryed in the Town of Boston.*

Anno.	1701	1702	1703
March	11	9	21
April	6	13	14
May	11	8	16
June	13	07	12
July	15	20	10
August	15	32	13
September	17	47	19
October	12	55	15
November	15	74	8
December	7	87	18
January	17	69	6
February	7	20	7
	-----	-----	-----
	146	441	159

> *Note 1*. In that mortal year, 1702, the number of Negroes and Indians, which had a singular share in the mortality, made the number of the buried, arise to about 500.
>
> *Note* 2. Many inhabitants of Boston, have their employments at sea; and many of these dying abroad (in proportion, much more that at home) they are not reckoned in our catalogue.
>
> *Note 3*. It has been observed by some, that in times of health, (such as we now enjoy,) mortality ordinarily carries off somewhat about a fiftieth part of the people every year. Query. How far will that observation hold for this town?
>
> *Note 4*. It might be of use, of some other of the principal towns in the country, would preserve their bill of mortality, and communicate it.[23]

But probably among the most interesting Colonial obituary stories was the following, about a minister killed by "friendly fire" as he was coming off duty as watchman in the night:

> Boston, In our Numb. 28, as we then received it, we gave you the account of the death of the Reverend Mr. Gardner, Minister of Lancaster; and having since had a perfect and exact account of the same, from eye and ear witnesses, we thought it expedient to insert it here, to prevent various reports thereof: And is as follows,
>
> That a man being killed the day before betwixt Groton and Lancaster, and the Indians having been seen the night before nigh the town. Mr. Gardner (three of the men belonging to his garrison being gone out of town, and two of the remaining three being tyred with watching and travelling in the woods after the Indians that day) being a very careful as well as couragious man, concluded to watch the night himself; and accordingly went out into the little watch-house that was over one of the flankers, and there stayed till late in the night, whence and when he was coming down (as it was thought) to warm him, the man that shot him, who was not long before sleeping by the fire, came out, and whether between sleeping and waking, or surprized with an excess of fear, fired upon

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[23] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 11, June 3, 1704.

> him as he was coming down out of the watch-house through a little trap door into the flanker, where no man having the exercise of his reason could suspect the coming of an enemy, or suspect him to be so, when in a clear moon light night he was so nigh him, Mr. Gardner (though his wound was in his breast being shot through the vitals) came to the door, bid them open it for he was wounded; after he came in he fainted away, but coming to himself again, asked who it was that shot him, and when they told him he prayed God to forgive him, and forgave him himself, for he believed he did not do it on purpose; and with a composed Christian frame of spirit desired them that were bitterly lamenting over him, not to weep but to pray for him, and comforted his sorrowful wife, telling her he was going to Glory, advising her to follow him; and in about an hour dyed, leaving his sorrowful friends to lament the loss of so worthy and desirable a person.[24]

The accidental death of the minister mistaken for an enemy suggests one of the dangers faced by the colonists as they settled the land. Stories about domestic military encounters could be as vivid as those about battles abroad, as is the case of a report Campbell took from an official letter sent from the field:

> *South-Carolina Via New-York.* An account of what the army from thence had done, under the command of Colonel Moore in his expedition last winter against the Spaniards and Spanish Indians. In a letter from him to the Governour of Carolina. May it please your Honour to accept this short narrative of what I with the army under my command have been doing since my departure from the Ockemulgg on the 19th. December. On the 14th. January we came to a town, and strong and almost regular fort about sun rising, call'd Ayavalle, at our first approach the Indians in it fired and shot arrows at us briskly; from which we shelter'd our selves under the side of a great mud-walled house, till we could take a view of the fort, and consider of the best way of assaulting it: which we concluded to be by breaking the church door, which made a part of the fort, with axes. I no sooner proposed this, but my men readily undertook it; ran up to it briskly, (the enemy at the same time shooting at them), were beaten off without effecting it, and fourteen white men wounded, two hours after that, we thought fit to attempt the burning the church, which we did, three or four Indians assisting us: The Indians in it obstinately defending themselves, and kill'd us two white men, viz. Frances Plowden, and Thomas Dale; after we were within their fort, a fryar the only white in it came forth and begged mercy: In this we took about 26 men alive, and 58 women and children; the Indians took about as many more of each fort, the fryar told us, we kill'd in the two storms twenty five men. The next morning the captain of St. Lewis Fort with 23 white men and 400 Indians came to fight us, which we did, beat him, took him, and eight of his men prisoners: And as the Indians which say they did it, told us kill'd five or six whites: We have a particular account from our Indians of 168 Indian men kill'd and taken in the fight and flight, but the Appalatchia Indians say, they lost 200, which we have reason to believe the least. Captain John Berringer fighting bravely in the the head of our men was kill'd at my foot: Captain Fox dyed of a wound given him at the first storming of the fort. Two days after I sent to the Cassick of Ibitachuka, who with 130 men was in his strong and well made fort, to come make his peace with me, the which he did, and compounded for it, with his churches plate, and ten horses laden with provisions; After this I marched thro' five towns which had all strong forts and defences against small arms; they all submitted and surrendered their forts to me without condition. I have now in my company all the whole people of three towns; and the greatest part of four more: we have totally destroyed the people of two towns; so that we have left in Appalatchia but that one town which compounded with one part of St. Lewis, and the people of one town which run away all together; their town, church and fort we have burnt. The people of St. Lewis come to me every night. I expect and have advice that the town which compounded with me, are coming after me:

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[24] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 31, Nov. 20, 1704.

> The waiting for these people make my marches slow, for I'm willing to bring away with me free, as many of the Indians as I can: This being the address of the Commons to your Honour to order it so, this will make my mens part of the plunder (which otherwise might have been 100*l*. a man) but small: but I hope with your Honours assistance to find a way to gratifie them for their bold and stout action, and their great loss of blood: I never see or hear of a stouter or braver thing done, than the storming the fort: It hath regained the reputation we seem'd to have lost under the conduct of Robert Macken, the Indians having now a mighty value for the whites: Appalatchia is now reduced to the feeble and low condition, that it can neither support St. Augustin with provision, or disturb, endamage or frighten us; our Indians living between us and Appalatchia and he French: In short we have made Carolina as safe as the conquest of Appalatchia can make it....[25]

Other dangers colonists faced are reflected in stories about crime, such as this one about a ring of counterfeiters operating in New-England:

> Boston. Several persons that were actors and contrivers in attempting to counterfeit the 20*s*. bills of credit on this province, thereby to cheat and cousen Her Majesties good subjects, are now in prison, viz Peregrine White and Benonz White black-smiths, John Brewer carpenter, and Daniel Amos wine-cooper. By the examinations taken, it do's not appear that there has been the value of one hundred pounds of the said counterfeit bills made or issued. And their plate & press is seized, which it's hoped will put a stop to the further progress of that wicked practice.
>
> Thomas Odell, one of the principal actors in that villainy & cousenage, and also infamous for his making & uttering of base money, absconds and is fled from justice; Whosoever shall discover and cause him to be apprehended that he may be brought to answer for his crimes aforesaid, will be well rewarded for his pains. And 'tis said the greatest loss in this matter will fall upon N. Hampshire in case the said Odell be not taken, he having carryed most of his counterfeit bills into that Province.[26]

The crime of counterfeiting was a threat to the Boston's commercial community, but even more threatening was piracy, which posed a danger both to the commerce and the very lives of the colonists. Stories about pirates would appear frequently in American newspapers throughout the 18th Century. The first, which appeared as a series in the earliest issues of the *Boston News-Letter,* includes a proclamation, a description of the crime, details of the search for the criminals, the arrests, and the trial and execution. The stories in this remarkable series, published in almost every issue over a two-month period, began innocently enough in the middle of a paragraph about incoming ships:

> ...Arrived at Marble-head, Capt. Quelch in the Brigantine that Capt. Plowman went out in, are said to come from New-Spain & have made a good Voyage.[27]

But in the next issue Campbell published the following proclamation:

> By the Honourable Thomas Povey Esq. Lieut. Governour, and Commander in Chief, for the

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[25] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 2, May 1, 1704.

[26] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 15, July 31. 1704.

[27] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 5, May 22, 1704.

> time being, of Her Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England.
>
> A PROCLAMATION.
>
> Whereas *John Quelch, late commander of the Briganteen Charles, and company to her belonging, Viz. *John Lambert, *John Miller, *John Clifford, *John Dorothy, *James Parrot, Charles James, William Whiting, John Pitman, John Templeton, Benjamin Perkins, *William Wilde, Richard Lawrance, Erasmus Peterson, John King, Charles King, Isaac Johnson, Nicholas Lawson, Daniel Chevalle, John Way, Thomas Farrington, Matthew Primer, Anthony Holding, William Rayner, John Quittance, John Harwood, William Jones, Denis Carter, Nicholas Richardson, James Austin, James Patterson, Joseph Hutnet, George Peirse, George Norton, Gabriel Davis, John Breck, John Carter, Paul Giddens, Nicholas Dunbar, Richard Thurbar, Daniel Chuley, and others; Have lately imported a considerable quantity of gold dust, and some bar and coin'd gold, which they are violently suspected to have gotten & obtained, by felony and piracy, from some of Her Majesties friends and allies, and have taken and shared the same among themselves, without any adjudication or condemnation thereof, to be lawful prize. The said commander and some others being apprehended and in custody, the rest are absconded and fled from justice....
>
> And all Her Majesties subjects, and others, are hereby strictly forbidden to entertain, harbour or conceal any of the said persons, or their treasure; Or to convey away, or in any manner further the escape of any of them, on pain of being proceeded against with utmost severity of law, as accessaries and partakers with them in their crime.[28]

Two related paragraphs followed the proclamation:

> Rhode-Island May 26. Five of Quelch's men bought a small deck'd boat, and on Thursday morning last they sail'd, and 'tis said, they designed to go for Long-Island; The express from Boston to secure them coming in that night. His Honour Gov. Cransten Esq. issued forth warrants to seize and search for them, whereupon one of said crew was apprehended, and sent from constable to constable, in order to be sent to Boston.
>
> Boston, May 27. Our last gave an account of Capt. Quelch's being said to arrive from N. Spain, having made a good voyage; but by the foregoing Proclamation 'tis uncertain whence they came, and too too palpably evident they have committed Piracies, either upon Her Majesties subjects or allies. The names of so many of the pirates as are in prison & irons in Boston, have a * just before their names: William Whiting lyes sick like to dy not yet examin'd. There are two more of them sick at Marblehead, and another at Salem gaol: and James Austin imprisoned at Piscataqua.[29]

On June 5 Campbell published a second proclamation from Gov. Dudley, "hereby strictly commanding & requiring all officers civil & military, & other Her Majesties Loving Subjects, to apprehend & seize the said pirates," and the governor's June 1 speech to the Boston Council, which included the following passage:

> The last week has discovered a very notorious piracy, committed upon Her Majesties allies the Portugal, on the coast of Brasil, by Quelch and company, in the Charles Galley; for the discovery of which, all possible methods have been used, and the severest process against those vile men shall be speedily taken, that the Province be not thereby disparaged, as they have been heretofore; and I hope every good man will do his duty according to the general proclamations, to discover the

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[28] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 6, May 29, 1704.

[29] *Ibid.*

pirates & their treasure, agreeable to the Acts of Parliament in that case made and provided....[30]

By the following week Capt. Quelch had been captured, and Campbell informs his readers about the potential for a trial:

> His Excellency (Gov. Dudley) intends to bring forward the tryal of Quelch and company now in custody for piracy within a few days.
>
> Warrants are issued forth to seize and apprehend Capt. Larimore, in the Larimore Galley, who is said to have sailed from Cape Anne with 9 or 11 pirates of Capt. Quelch's company.
>
> There is two more of the pirates seized this week and in custody, viz. Benjamin Perkins, and John Templeton.[31]

On June 19, Campbell published a series of exciting paragraphs about the hunt for the rest of the accused pirates, their capture, and an account of the opening session of their trial:

> Marblehead, June 9. The Honourable Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Byfield, and Paul Dudley Esqrs. came to this place yesterday, in obedience to His Excellency the Governour, his order for the more effectual discovering and seizing the pirates lately belonging to the Briganteen Charles, John Quelch Commander, with their treasure. They made Salem in their way, where Samuel Wakefield the water-baily informed them of a rumor that two of Quelches's company were lurking at Cape Anne, waiting for a passage off the Coast: The Commissioners made with warrant to Wakefield to search for them, and dispatched him away on Wednesday night. And having gained intelligence this morning, that a certain number of them well armed, were at Cape Anne designing to go off in the Larrimore Galley, then at anchor in that harbour. They immediately sent men from the several adjacent towns by land & water, to prevent their escape, and went thither themselves, to give necessary orders upon the place.
>
> Glocester, upon Cape Anne, June 9. The Commissioners for seizing the pirates and their treasure, arrived here this day, were advised that the Larrimore Galley sail'd in the morning eastward; and that a boat was seen to go off from the head of the Cape, near Snake Island, full of men, supposed to be the pirates. The Commissioners seeing the Government mock'd by Capt. Larrimore and his officers, resolved to send after them. Major Stephen Sewall who attended with a fishing shallop, and the Fort Pinnace, offered to go in pursuit of them, and Capt. John Turner, Mr. Robert Brisco, Capt. Knight, and several other good men voluntarily accompanied him, to the number of 42 men, who rowed out of the harbour after sun-sett, being little wind.
>
> Salem, June 11. This afternoon Major Sewall brought in to this port, the Larrimore Galley, and seven pirates, viz. Erasmus Peterson, Charles James, John Carter, John Pitman, Francis King, Charles King, John King, whom he with his company surprized and seized at the Isles of Sholes the 10th. Instant, viz. four of them on board the Larrimore Galley, and three on shoar on Starr Island, being assisted by John Hinckes, and Thomas Phipps Esqrs. Two of Her Majesties Justices of New-Hampshire, who were happily there, together with the Justices, and the Captain of the place. He also seized 45 ounces and seven penny weight of gold of the said pirates.
>
> Capt. Thomas Larrimore, Joseph Wells Lieutenant, and Daniel Wormmall Master, and the said pirates are secured in our gaol.
>
> Glocester, June 12. Yesterday Major Sewall passed by this place with the Larrimore Galley, and Shallop Trial, standing for Salem, and having little wind, set our men ashore on the Eastern Point, giving of them notice that William Jones, and Peter Roach, two of the pirates had mistook their way, and were still left upon the Cape, with strict charge to search for them, which our Towns People performed very industriously. Being strangers and destitute of all succours they

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[30] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 7, June 5, 1704.

[31] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 8, June 12, 1704.

> surrendered themselves this afternoon, and were sent to Salem Prison.
>
> Boston, June 17. On the 13. Instant, Major Sewall attended with a strong guard brought to town the above mentioned pirates, and gold he had seized, and gave His Excellency a full account of his procedure in seizing them. The prisoners were committed to gaol in order to a tryal, and the gold delivered the treasurer and committee appointed to receive the same. The service of Major Sewall and company was very well accepted and rewarded by the Governour.
>
> His Excellency was pleased on the 13 Currant to open the High Court of Admiralty for trying Capt. John Quelch late commander of the Briganteen Charles and company for piracy, who were brought to the barr, and the articles exhibited against them read, they all pleaded Not Guilty, excepting three, Viz. Matthew Pimer, John Clifford and James Parrot, who were reserved for evidences, and are in Her Majesties Mercy. The prisoners moved for council, and His Excellency assigned them Mr. James Meinzes. The Court was adjourned to the 16th. When met again, Capt. Quelch preferr'd a petition to His Excellency and Honourable Court, craving longer time, which was granted till Monday morning at Nine of the Clock, when said Court is to sit again in order to their Tryal.[32]

The trial itself was described in the next issue:

> Boston, June 24. On Monday last, The 19 Currant, The High Court of Admiralty sat again, when the tryal of John Quelch late commander of the Briganteen Charles, and company for piracy and murder, committed by them upon Her Majesties Allies the Subjects of the King of Portugal, was brought forward, and the said Quelch was brought to the Bar, being charged with nine several articles of piracy and murder whereupon he had been arraigned and pleaded, Not Guilty; The Queen's Attorney opened the case, and the Court proceeded to the examination of the evidences for Her Majesty. And the Council for the prisoner, and the prisoner himself being fairly heard, The Court was cleared, and after advisement, the prisoner was again brought to the Bar, & the Judgment of the Court declared, that he was guilty of the felony, piracy and murder laid in said articles: Accordingly Sentence of Death was pronounced against him.
>
> The next day being Tuesday, John Lambert, Charles James, John Miller and Christopher Scudamore, were brought to the Bar, who pleaded Not Guilty: And were severally tryed as Quelch was, and found guilty and Sentenced to Dy in like manner.
>
> Then was brought to the Bar, William Whiting and John Templeton being arraigned, They pleaded Not Guilty, and the witnesses proving no matter of fact upon them, said Whiting being sick all the voyage, & not active, and Templeton a Servant about 14 years of age, and not charged with any action, were acquitted by the Court, paying prison fees. Next 15 more being brought to the Bar and arraign'd, Viz. Will. Wilde, Benj. Perkins, James Austin, Nich. Richardson, Rich. Lawrance, John Pitman, Will. Jones, Erasmus Peterson, John King, Francis King, Charles King, Peter Roach, John Dorothy, Denis Carter and John Carter, who severally pleaded Guilty, and threw themselves on the Queen's Mercy. And Sentence of Death was past upon them, in like manner as those above named. 'Tis said some of them will be executed the next Fryday, and the whole proceeding be put out in print.[33]

The series of stories ends with an account of the execution of the principals, with an observation by Campbell about their demeanor as they faced their deaths:

> On Fryday was carried to the place of execution seven pirates to be executed, viz. Capt. John Quelch, John Lambert, Christopher Scudamore, John Miller, Erasmus Peterson, Peter Roach & Francis King; all of which were executed, excepting the last named, who had a Reprieve from His

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[32] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 9, June 19, 1704.

[33] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 10, June 26, 1704.

> Excellency. And notwithstanding all the great labour and pains taken by the Reverend Ministers of the Town of Boston, ever since they were first seized and brought up to town, both before and since their Tryal and Condemnation, to instruct, admonish, preach and pray for them; yet, as they led a wicked and vitious life, so to appearance they dyed very obdurately and impenitently, hardened in their sin.
>
> His Excellency intends to send an Express to England, with an account of the whole matter to Her Majesty.[34]

John Campbell never achieved financial success with his *Boston News-Letter,* whose circulation during his 18 years as editor probably remained at a little over 200 copies a week, and rarely approached 300. Campbell suspended the paper a number of times due to lack of funds, and obtained government grants on several occasions in order to continue publication. And John Hohenberg is right when he says that the early Boston News-Letter was "devoid of the conflict that is inevitably stirred up by controversialists of the Ben Harris stripe" — particularly if Hohenberg is talking about commentary and political conflict. Campbell, whose newspaper was published "By Authority," certainly did not challenge the government of Massachusetts. But a review of the contents of the early issues of the *News-Letter* confirms Frank Luther Mott's observation, that modern scholars should not underestimate Campbell's news judgment — Campbell understood what would be important and interesting to his small but loyal group of readers. Indeed, some scholars might find that much of what appeared in those papers almost 300 years ago still proves to be interesting reading.

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[34] *Boston News-Letter*, No. 11, July 3, 1704.

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DEFINING THE AMERICAN HEROINE
WOMEN OF GODEY'S "LADY'S BOOK"

Submitted to the American Journalism
Historians Association Convention

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> "What I chiefly wished was to point to you
> a character whose excellence early awakened
> my warmest admiration -- a woman who living
> in the daily exercise of energies that might
> justly be termed heroic, and habitually sacrificing
> herself to others, could yet, when all was done,
> look for her sole reward in the increased happiness
> of those around her -- neither asking praise at home,
> or desiring the world's applause." (The Lady's Book, 1832)

DEFINING THE AMERICAN HEROINE
WOMEN OF GODEY'S "LADY'S BOOK"

The eminent women's periodical Godey's Lady's Book, which premiered in 1830, wasted no time before enlightening its readers about the proper characteristics of heroines. References to "female heroism" appeared in the very first issue and were scattered throughout subsequent volumes of the magazine, which came to be regarded as a strong role model for the moral conduct of its numerous women readers.[1] Heroines in The Lady's Book fought off invading armies and lunging panthers; they suffered calamities and hardships on the edge of the wilderness -- all the while maintaining good cheer and raising their children with the strictest Christian and republican principles.[2] To the modern reader, these heroines seem melodramatic, even amusing, but if strong circulation figures and high social prominence of The Lady's Book are any indication, 19th century women took their magazine and its heroines seriously.[3]

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[1] "Female Courage and Fortitude," The Lady's Book, 1 (July, 1830), 198.

[2] "Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "The Pioneer Mothers of Michigan," The Lady's Book, 44 (April, 1852), 267; and "The Pioneer Mothers of the West," The Lady's Book, 44 (January, 1852), 71-75.

[3] The Lady's Book's influence "extended into the lives of almost every middle class household in the United States," its circulation reached nearly 100,000 by 1856 and 150,000 by the Civil War. Isabelle Webb Entrikin, Sarah Josepha Hale and Godey's Lady's Book, (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Press Inc., 1946), V, 116.

The Lady's Book isn't alone in its fascination with heroes. Throughout history, the media have told tales of heroism too numerous to count. Even today, from small-town newspapers to major network newscasts, journalists label as heroic a wide variety of people and actions. The average citizen who steps out of obscurity, risking his life to save others from the burning wreckage of a downed plane or derailed train becomes an instant media hero. Athletes are sometimes dubbed "heroes" in the press, as are politicians, writers, scientists and entertainers. But are these people really heroes? Are there heroes in our midst the media never mention? Can heroes even exist in an egalitarian society?

Examining the concept of heroism in the press can offer some fascinating insights into the media in its role both as an influence of societal values and a mirror of societal norms. In addition, looking at characteristics of heroes and heroines can offer glimpses into attitudes of the people of a particular era, and so can add another intriguing layer to our understanding of the past. This study takes one small step in this direction and examines a tiny segment of 19th century history by analyzing its heroines as portrayed in the major women's periodical of the day, Godey's Lady's Book.

DEFINING "HEROINE"

What did "heroine" mean to Americans in the early- to mid-19th century? Webster's dictionaries of the day define "heroine" or "heroess" simply as "a female hero," and they define "hero" as "an illustrious person; a brave warrior" and "a brave man; a great person."[4] A writer of the era, Ralph Waldo Emerson, gave a more thoughtful definition of hero. He said heroes mirror the ideal morals of the community. They are symbols of the highest aims of mankind, he wrote, and serve as "mouth pieces of their age."[5] The media of the era, then, would have venerated as "hero" those men who were symbols of the loftiest moral standards of the day. In early 19th century America, however, the dictionary concept of "heroine" might have caused a dilemma for the press. If moral standards for women and men were different, a real "heroine" couldn't possibly have been "a female hero;" rather, she would have required her own distinct characteristics.

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[4] Noah Webster, A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language (New York: Hudson & Goodwin Booksellers, 1806), 142; and William G. Webster & William A. Wheeler, A High School Dictionary of the English Language (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and Co., 1868), 158.

This paper will seek to answer the question: How were the characteristics of the woman as heroine in 1830 to 1835 portrayed in Godey's Lady's Book, and how do those characteristics compare with heroic women portrayed in The Lady's Book in 1850 to 1855?

METHODOLOGY

This is not a content analysis but an attempt to categorize qualities of heroic women during 1830-1835 and 1850-1855 in Godey's Lady's Book. This paper examines: articles which give names of real women and specifically mention heroines or heroic actions/qualities; and instructional essays which specifically mention "heroine" or "heroic."

Volumes one through 10 were chosen because they include most of the first five years of The Lady's Book (Also called, in some subsequent issues, The Monthly Magazine of Belles-Lettres and the Arts, the Lady's Book), a time when it established its prominence and grew in circulation. These 10 volumes contain 60 issues from July of 1830 through June of 1835.

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[5] Barry Schwartz, "Emerson, Cooley and the American Heroic Vision," Symbolic Interaction, VIII (Spring, 1985), 106-107.

Preserved on microfilm, they are, unfortunately, missing some plates. The years 1850 to 1855 were chosen because they represent an era in The Lady's Book's hey-day, when its circulation experienced rapid spurts of growth and when its famous editor Sarah Hale was firmly in charge of editorial content. Volumes 40 through 50 contain 72 complete issues from January of 1850 to December of 1855.

LITERATURE REVIEW: SETTING THE STAGE

Understanding "heroines" in the 19th century requires some knowledge about women of the era. A political and social observer, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited the United States in 1831 and, in his two-volume classic Democracy in America, wrote a section about American women, saying they were responsible for the morals and strength of the nation. Women in the United States, he said, sacrificed pleasure for duty, and through the power of public opinion, were relegated to the "circle of domestic interest," forbidden to step beyond it.[6] Tocqueville was amazed by the education young women received and was "surprised and almost frightened" by their boldness.[7] Women, he said, held a lofty position that was completely separate from men's and exclusively domestic. Though the women he observed had sound judgement, Tocqueville was quick to point out they were submissive to men and delicate in manners. He spoke of the strength of pioneer wives who left the comforts of New England to live in the wilderness. "Fever, solitude and a tedious life had not broken the springs of their courage," he said.[8] If heroism reflects a society's ideal values, these observations indicate that an American heroine would probably be an educated woman concerned chiefly with domestic matters and not afraid to face hardships of frontier life. Certainly, if her societal position was completely separate from man's, as Tocqueville wrote, her heroic characteristics in the press would have to be different as well.

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[6] Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America Volume II (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), 212.

[7] Ibid, 210.

[8] Ibid, 214.

The Republican Mother

Women's education was, indeed, on the rise in the 1830s, a trend which is, in part, attributed to the political idea of the "republican mother." Sara Evans' history Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America traces the origins of this notion to the Revolutionary War, when American women first began to express political views. Prior to the Revolution, few women could sign their names and few were involved in matters of politics, but during the war they were forced to assume control of farms and businesses. They expresses political opinions, participated in boycotts of British goods and fed and clothed American troops. When the war was over, women didn't just silence their newfound political voices. Rather, they gave their roles as wives and mothers political meaning. A woman's domestic role became a political role; it became her patriotic duty to educate and nurture her sons, teaching them to be good, moral citizens. To fulfill this duty, the American woman needed education, and by 1850 most middle class women were literate.[9]

Not only was motherhood a woman's patriotic duty, it was her divine right. Another writer of the era, minister John S.C. Abbot, had these words for American women: "O mothers! Reflect upon the power your Maker has placed in your hands. There is no earthly influence to compare with yours. There is no combination of causes so powerful in promoting the happiness or misery of our race, as the instructions of the home."[10] Other noteworthy trends of the 1830s were the end of "The Great Awakening," a large-scale evangelical movement, and the earliest beginnings of what would become a major reform movement in the United States.[11] Thus, with the strong ideas about the political and moral duties of motherhood, the American heroine in the 1830s press would certainly have been a wife and mother, and given the religious and social movements of the day, she would likely have been a devout Christian and maybe even a "reformer" of sorts -- or, at least, a nurturer of those around her.

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[9] Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Inc., 1989), 57-65.

Conflict of Values: The 1850s

The decade of the 1850s opened on the heels of the first women's rights convention, held in 1848 at Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, N.Y., before an audience of 200 women and 40 men.[12] Womanhood had become less about submissiveness and more about female bonding and strength, as "sorority was added to the list of mid-19th-century women's virtues," says Nancy A. Hewitt in Women's Activism and Social Change.[13] On the strength of the reform movement, and of women's newfound sense of "sorority," charitable work became institutionalized. Women were divided on the issue of women's rights and suffrage, according to Evans' history. Catharine Beecher (a frequent contributor to The Lady's Book) was an outspoken opponent of women's suffrage; she promoted domesticity in her articles and books, attempting to strengthen the notion that motherhood was the proper role for women. On the other side, Elizabeth Cody Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Ernestine Stone, in 1854, presented 10,000 signatures to New York legislators arguing for suffrage and for married women's property rights.[14] Even The Lady's Book and Beecher pushed hard for women to step outside the home in two major areas -- teaching and medicine, especially for their own sex and children.[15] But although the seeds of the women's rights movement had been planted, on the whole, support for suffrage was weak and scattered.[16] An ideal women in the 1850s, then, would still be a wife and mother, educator and Christian. She would likely not be a woman's rights activist, but might be more independent and less submissive than her heroic foremothers of the 1830s. It is probable that heroines in the press would have reflected these changes.

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[10] Nancy Woloch, Early American Women: A Documentary History 1600-1900 (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Inc., 1992), 209.

[11] Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America, 73-75.

[12] Ibid, 94-95.

[13] Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 18.

About Godey's Lady's Book and Sarah Hale

Louis A. Godey founded his Lady's Book in 1830 in Philadelphia, first publishing every three months and then monthly. The Lady's Book became the most esteemed and longest running women's periodical of its day and, by the Civil War, had reached a circulation of 150,000. Godey wanted his magazine to entertain its women readers, and although in its first years the magazine reprinted many articles from British publications, by 1835 more and more articles were written just for The Lady's Book.[17] Patricia Okker, assistant professor at the University of Missouri and author of the forthcoming book Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of the 19th Century American Women Editors, said diaries of the early 19th century contain evidence that The Lady's Book was widely read and very influential.[18] Sarah Hale, the famous editor, published her own magazine in the early 1830s, the American Ladies Magazine, which experienced financial difficulties and in 1836 merged with Godey's Lady's Book. Hale believed strongly in women's education and motherhood, and she also promoted women as the best teachers and doctors, wholeheartedly supporting Sarah Blackwell, the first woman surgeon in the United States.[19] Frank Luther Mott, in his History of American Magazines, actually credits Hale as being largely responsible for the college education of middle class American women.[20] But Sarah Hale was no feminist by modern standards. Under her leadership, The Lady's Book spoke out against women's suffrage, saying a woman's sons should cast her votes. "This is the way American women should vote, namely, by influencing rightly the votes of men," she published in April of 1852.[21] Hale's "Editors' Table" instructed her readers that the women's rights movement was an "attempt to take woman from her empire of home."[22]

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[14] Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America, 103.

[15] Ibid, 105-106.

[16] Ellen Carol DuBois, Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), 18.

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[17] Sherbrooke Rogers, Sarah Josepha Hale: A New England Pioneer 1788-1879 (Grantham, N.H.: Thompson & Rutter Inc., 1985), 60-62.

[18] Patricia Okker personal interview with author, Nov. 29, 1993.

[19] Rogers, Sarah Josepha Hale: A New England Pioneer 1788-1879, 84.

[20] Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines Volume I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) 349-350.

[21] "Editors' Table," The Lady's Book, 44 (April, 1852), 203.

[22] "Editors' Table," The Lady's Book, 44 (January, 1852), 88.

Another issue said women should be teachers, preservers and helpers, insisting they should "seek the accomplishments which will enable them to throw the radiance of joy over the solitude of the home."[23] Thus, it is probable that heroines in The Lady's Book in 1850 to 1855 would not only illustrate changes in societal morals but would also reflect the ideas of the periodical's strong editor.

Thoughts About Heroism

Emerson hasn't been the only scholar to think about the concept of heroism in America. More than a century later, Daniel Boorstin wrote about heroes, too, saying, "We revere them not because they posses charisma, divine favor, a grace or talent granted them by God, but because they embody popular virtues. We admire them... because they reveal and elevate ourselves."[24] So heroes in the mass media not only personify the community's ideal morals, as Emerson wrote, but they mirror real life, too. Heroes stand on a pedestal, true, but in our egalitarian society that pedestal must be reachable for the average person; in America, a "hero" is not a king or deity, but an average person who, through adversity, strives to reach his, and his society's highest potential.

Throughout history, few women have reached that national hero pinnacle as did Davy Crockett, for example, in the 1830s. Dixon Wecter, in The Hero in America, illustrates the anonymity of women in the hero-worship of America, using the bronze statue of the nameless pioneer mother, a municipal park staple, as an illustration of this phenomenon. Wecter theorized about the reason for the omission, saying, "During the greater span of our national life... the dominant ideal has been the perfect lady."[25] So during much of American history, the very actions that would distinguish a woman as "hero" if she were living by male standards of morality, might just label her as unladylike and thus make her an unfit symbol of "heroine" for women of her day. The mainstream press would, of course, reflect this paradox with its lack of female icons.

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[23] "Editors' Table," The Lady's Book, 42 (November, 1850), 416.

[24] Schwartz, "Emerson, Cooley and the American Heroic Vision," 115.

How did Godey's Lady's Book handle the heroine dilemma? Charles Hortel Cooley, writing near the end of the 18th century, believed heroes helped internalize social norms, acting as symbols rather than sources of societal trends.[26] Will Godey's heroines be trend setters, or will they simply mirror the values of women of the day?

FINDINGS: HEROIC WOMEN OF THE LADY'S BOOK

The 1830s

During its first five years, The Lady's Book had no shortage of essays touting the heroic qualities of women. Fifteen specifically mention "heroine" or "heroic" actions and illuminate several categories of the heroic women that repeat themselves over and over: the woman as wife and mother, protector of the home; the educated woman; the virtuous woman, a devout Christian; the woman of pleasing personality and the pioneer woman of hardship and sacrifice.

The very first essay illustrated how women could become heroines and praised the courage of early pioneers. It asked this question: "If our mothers had a share, and a great share they had of the trials of those days, why should they not be remembered in the history of the newborn empire?"[27] Pioneer women, argued The Lady's Book, showed just as much, and maybe more, courage watching over their infants in unprotected wilderness cabins than their male counterparts showed in "venturing forth to fight the foe."[28] Thus, The Lady's Book proclaimed for women the rights of heroism.

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[25] Dixon Wecter, The Hero in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1941), 476-477.

[26] Schwartz, "Emerson, Cooley and the American Heroic Vision," 105.

Wife and mother, protector of the home. Even as early as 1830, the symbol of the pioneer mother was entrenched in American lore. The Lady's Book's very first heroine, Hannah Duston, was such a woman. When her home was attacked by Indians, she sent her seven children running to the nearby garrison house and insisted her husband run ahead of her, behind the children, to fire back on the attackers. She fell behind, carrying their six-day-old infant, was captured and watched as the aggressors bashed the infant against a tree, killing it. The Indians dragged her through the wilderness and paddled by canoe another 10 miles upstream before stopping, exhausted, to make camp. While they slept, the heroine took a hatchet and killed her captors, sparing only one small boy because, being a woman and a mother, she "could not deal a death blow upon a helpless child."[29] After suffering incredible hardship, Mrs. Duston made it home and was treated as a heroine. "The people of Boston made her many presents. All classes were anxious to see the heroine; and as one of the writers of the day says, who saw her, 'she was a right modest woman.'"[30] Mrs. Duston stepped out of her feminine role and went on the attack for the only reason that would have been socially acceptable to the "republican mothers" reading about her in 1830 -- the protection of her home and children. After the danger was past, she quickly went back to her modest, delicate, feminine ways. During the 1830s, being a wife was practically a prerequisite for heroism in Godey's. A short essay in Volume 5 speaks of the heroic devotion of the wife who follows her husband, without complaint, through pain, adversity and danger. Motherhood, however, was "the paramount influence of woman on the character, morals and destiny of a nation."[31]

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[27] "Female Courage and Fortitude," 198.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid, 199.

[30] Ibid.

The educated woman. Contributors to The Lady's Book made sure its heroines were educated, whether that characteristic was historically accurate or not. For example, although few women could sign their names prior to the American Revolution, the pilgrims' wives at Plymouth were said to have "more than Spartan fortitude in braving dangers and in supporting calamities. They were well educated women."[32] Another heroine, even though she was from humble origins, spoke in language that was "most correct, ornate and pointed."[33] But although she was educated and well spoken, the heroic woman used her education only in the domestic sphere, as an "intellectual toy, brightening the family circle with her endearments."[34]

The virtuous woman, a devout Christian. The heroic women of 1830 to 1835 had an unfailing allegiance to God. Helen Walker of Dumfries, Scotland, for example, "consoled herself with the idea that a blessing flowed from her virtuous abstinence."[35] This heroine was encouraged to lie to authorities about the death of her unwed sister's infant and then repent *afterwards* to save her sister from the executioner. "But no arguments however, subtle -- no entreaties however agonizing -- could induce her to offend her Maker by swerving from the truth."[36] Everything, of course, worked out for Helen Walker and her sister after the heroine walked, barefoot, to London to beg the Duke of Argyle to grant her sister clemency. Virtue and devotion to God could not go unrewarded in The Lady's Book.

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[31] "The Wife," The Lady's Book, 5 (September, 1832), 120.

[32] "Female Courage and Fortitude," 198.

[33] "Original of Jeanie Deans," The Lady's Book, 1 (July, 1830), 83.

[34] "The Wife," 120.

[35] "Original of Jeannie Deans," 83.

The woman of pleasing personality. "The Wife, or Domestic Heroism," published in 1831, recounted the life of Lucy Grey, an everyday heroine who might be considered a "super woman" of the 19th century. Mrs. Grey, who had just about every pleasing quality imaginable, nursed the sick; cared for younger siblings; had a literary education; was excellent as a needle woman and in other domestic chores; had no vanity; had "kindness springing from every action;" loved her home and family; "was a faithful picture of the integrity and simplicity of her mind;" endured hardships and violence of the wilderness without complaint; was delicate in stature but strong of constitution; bolstered the spirits of her helpless husband; and considered being a mother her greatest source of happiness.[37] Heroic women of the Lady's Book shared qualities of education and courage, but they were cheerful, gentle, virtuous and modest enough not to let education stand in the way of their femininity.

The pioneer woman of hardship and sacrifice. Perhaps The Lady's Book, being the first truly influential magazine for American women, wanted distinctly American heroines for its pages, or perhaps the myth of the pioneer mother had so entrenched itself in American mythology that it simply *had* to show up on the pages of Godey's. Whatever the reason, the pioneer woman certainly was the ideal "heroine," from Hannah Duston in the first issue through 1835.

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[36] Ibid, 84.

[37] "The Wife, of Domestic Heroism," The Lady's Book, 3 (December, 1831), 305-309.

> Many a lovely daughter, in that day, who had been brought up in affluence, and with tenderness, on her marriage, moved from her home and parents to some new settlement, where her bridal serenade was the howling of the beasts of prey, as they nightly roamed the desert... This was more than Spartan fortitude; for the enemy seldom saw the dwelling where the heroic mother of Sparta waited to hear the fate of her husband and children; but ours were in constant danger of an attack from the savages. May instances of female heroism, which occurred during the early settlement of the country, are recorded, and should be carefully preserved.[38]

As Emerson might have predicted, heroines in The Lady's Book in 1830-1835 reflected the ideal morals of the day -- a least for the middle-to-upper-class women who read it religiously. The heroines on its pages, even tales of the European ones from centuries before, lived up to the ideal of the republican mother. They were virtuous and cheerful, even in the face of adversity, and their heroic roles were strictly domestic and decidedly different from men's. Women forced to act in traditionally masculine ways, such as scalping Indians as Mrs. Duston did, could do so only if they were protecting the home and only as a last resort. Then, when their families were safe and their husbands returned, they immediately turned back to their delicate, modest, feminine ways.

A Lady's Book heroine in 1830-1835 had a complex blend of qualities that today seem almost mutually exclusive. She had to be brave, but delicate; strong, but submissive; educated, even an educator, but only in the domestic sphere; and she had to be a cheerful nurturer in the face of hardship and danger. Any woman who could meet all these expectations should, indeed, stand head and shoulders above her sisters and be worthy of the veneration of future generations.

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[38] "Female Courage and Fortitude," 198.

The 1850s

Just as the 1850s was a time of conflicting values for women, it was a time for The Lady's Book to send conflicting messages about heroism. An essay on duty in 1854 actually instructed women to forget about the idea of heroism, at least the kind that led to fame.

> Woman was made for duty, not for FAME. So soon as she forgets this great law of her being, which consigns her to a life of heroism, if she will -- but quiet, unobtrusive heroism -- she throws herself from her position, and thus, of necessity, degrades herself. This mistaken hungering for the forbidden fruit, this grasping at the notoriety belonging (if indeed, it properly belongs to any) by nature to man, is at the root of all her debasement.[39]

Three years earlier, however, the magazine ran a series of articles entitled "Heroic Women of the Revolution," about women who performed acts of bravery worthy enough for, at least, fame and recognition in The Lady's Book. In another essay on service to country in 1851, women were told that "nothing is more unlovely and unfeminine than a female politician; scarcely anything so unbecoming to the sex as a heated and angry discussion of political subjects."[40] The magazine's heroines, however, often took a lively interest in politics.[41]

Characteristics of heroic women of the 1850s fell into the same categories as those in the 1830s, with two new categories added -- the woman as patriot and the benevolent heroine. These women, however, looked and acted a whole lot differently than their predecessors.

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[39] "Duty Versus Fame," The Lady's Book, 49 (July, 1854), 79.

[40] Kate Berry, "How Can an American Woman Serve Her Country?" The Lady's Book, 43 (December, 1851), 362.

[41] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Heroic Women of the Revolution: Mary Buell," The Lady's Book, 41 (October, 1850), 202.

The wife, mother, protector of the home. Domesticity still reigned supreme in the 1850s; every single heroine recorded in The Lady's Book during the first five years of the decade was a wife and mother. Women were told that duty performed in the seclusion of the home was no less heroic than those deeds worthy enough to be recorded on the pages of history.[42] As in the 1830s, a heroic mother's duty was to instill republican principles in her children.[43] Women who ignored this task were courting disaster; the fall of Rome was even attributed to Roman women deserting their duties to home and family![44] Heroic women of the 1850s also stepped out of traditional roles to protect their families. Elizabeth Harper, for example, a pioneer mother from Ohio, organized women to make cartridges and prepare ammunition to fight off aggressors attacking their homes.[45]

The educated woman. Education remained extremely important for the Godey's heroine, but these later heroines had more than just literary expertise -- and they were allowed to use their intellect outside the circle of family. Katharine Steel, one of the heroic women of the Revolution, actually read newspapers and discussed war news with a neighboring judge. She also taught young *girls* in her community how to use rifles in case they had to defend themselves.[46]

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[42] Ibid, 203.

[43] Ibid.

[44] H.P. Haynes, "Roman Women in the Days of the Caesars," The Lady's Book, 48 (March, 1854), 243-247.

[45] "Pioneer Life in Ohio," The Lady's Book, 45 (July, 1852), 45.

[46] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Heroic Women of the Revolution: Katharine Steel, or Katy of the Fort," The Lady's Book, 40 (April, 1850), 257.

Heroines in the 1850s gave advice, and not just to family members. Mrs. Harper's opinions, for example, were eagerly sought; her experience was said to qualify her to "decide on the best course in any emergency."[47] And neighbors came from miles around to Revolutionary War heroine Mary Buell's hearth to get tidings of the war. "Many a long winter's evening was spent in talking over the late intelligence from the army, or in conjectures as to the probable fate of the dear ones exposed to unknown peril and hardship."[48]

The virtuous woman, a devout Christian. The Godey's heroine still looked to her Maker for strength, sought guidance from the Bible and instilled Christian principles in her children. Women were instructed to be even more faithful, more zealous, than their male counterparts. "Though her physical strength and worldly knowledge be far inferior to man's, yet her firm trust in Heaven, her faithful truth in love, her disinterested zeal in charity, win the palm of victory in conflicts that he abandons in despair," wrote the author of a sketch about a Bible heroine.[49]

The woman of pleasing personality. Godey's heroines, as found in the 1850s, still had pleasing personalities, but they were less delicate, less submissive, less modest than their heroic predecessors. Catherine Sevier, a devoted wife and mother, was noted for her nerve, action, haughtiness, authority, pride, generosity, kindness and even her physical skills as a runner and horsewoman.[50] Katharine Steel was stout-hearted, mirthful, romantic, fond of adventure, industrious, lofty but unambitious, sage, patient, constant, firm, bold, self possessed, spirited, sweet, courageous and influential. She, too, was an excellent horsewoman.[51] Elizabeth Harper was also an influential leader; she was diligent, resourceful, defiant, firm, energetic, strong and never despondent during trials and suffering.[52] What a difference two decades made in the personality traits of heroic women!

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[47] "Pioneer Life in Ohio," The Lady's Book, 45 (July, 1852), 49.

[48] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Heroic Women of the Revolution: Mary Buell," The Lady's Book, 41 (October, 1850), 203.

[49] "Editor's Table," The Lady's Book, 41 (July, 1850), 58.

[50] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Pioneer Mothers of the West," The Lady's Book, 44 (January, 1852), 71-75.

The pioneer woman of hardship and sacrifice. Though not as dominant as in the 1830s, the pioneer heroine was still held in esteem by The Lady's Book. Rather than killing Indian aggressors, however, these women were more likely to stand up to them verbally or even treat them with kindness and accept kindnesses from them.[53] Heroines still suffered hardship without complaint, but in the 1850s, they were more resourceful. One woman, for example, gathered wild leeks in the woods and boiled them to help her family and her neighbors survive one harsh winter, but her disposition kept those around her from knowing how desperate they really were. "Her own family knew not, until the hardships of pioneer life had been overcome, how much she had endured."[54] This pioneer woman achieved the highest level of success possible for a 19th century mother. "She found her reward in the affection and usefulness of her children, several of whom filled important stations in their adopted state." [55]

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[51] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Heroic Women of the Revolution: Katharine Steel, or Katy of the Fort," The Lady's Book, 40 (April, 1850), 257-261.

[52] "Pioneer Life in Ohio," 48-51.

[53] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Pioneer Mothers of the West," The Lady's Book, 44 (January, 1852), 71-75.

[54] "Pioneer Life in Ohio," 49.

[55] Ibid.

The patriot. In 1850, The Lady's Book asked, "Is it practicable to be a patriot and also a true woman?"[56] The answer, of course, was yes. The patriotic heroine was closely tied to the heroic mother and the devout Christian. As another article that same year instructs, "If it is a commonly received truth, that the children of believing parents are the seed of the church, it is equally true that the 'expectancy of the State' is of those who are descended from the patriots whose lives have been devoted to the service of their country."[57] Women in the series "Heroic Women of the Revolution" protected their homes and families, true, but they also sacrificed for their country, even encouraging their children to fight and die for American independence. Femininity could be sacrificed for country, too, as did the early Roman heroines (those "patriotic women" who built the empire) when they cut of their tresses for bowstrings for their warrior archers![58]

The benevolent heroine. In the 1850s, the American heroine's charity extended beyond her family to her neighbors and the community. Women were encouraged to practice heroism by *reforming* a defect in society (wealthier citizens were, apparently, flaunting their riches before the poor) by forming social gatherings open to everyone featuring, "music, conversation and kindred intellectual enjoyments."[59] One Revolutionary War wife and mother, when the fighting was over, continued her heroic duty by laboring for peace, reconciling neighbors from the discordant elements of civil war.[60] Pioneer women and those engaged in the Revolutionary War effort fed and protected their neighbors, shared news and generally bolstered the spirits of everyone through times of adversity and danger.

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[56] Berry, "How Can an American Woman Serve Her Country," 362.

[57] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Heroic Women of the Revolution: Jane Gaston," The Lady's Book, 40 (March, 1850), 186.

[58] Haynes, "Roman Women in the Days of the Caesars," 243.

[59] Berry, "How Can An American Woman Serve Her Country?" 363.

Thus, heroines presented to Lady's Book readers in the 1850s, though still decidedly domestic, had more depth, more freedom and more influence than heroines from the 1830s. The changing times and the influence of editor Sarah Hale made a strong impact on the magazine's heroic women. They were still cheerful, but now they had a sense of humor. Delicacy was no longer a primary characteristic; in fact, the latter heroines were often excellent horsewomen and crack shots. Women no longer waited, frightened, in wilderness cabins for their husbands to return; they gathered food, made ammunition and organized community projects. Heroines were still expected to be well educated, but the 1850s heroine could use her intellect outside the circle of family -- she could even read newspapers and discuss politics with others in the community. Heroines, however, never sought fame, applause or rewards for their deeds. That kind of public heroism was still just for men.

CONCLUSION

From Emerson's (and later Boorstin's) writings about heroes comes the notion that society's heroes mirror its ideal morals. The mass media play a role in telling heroes' stories to mass audiences, and the media also help audiences understand just what heroic characteristics are by establishing orthodoxy -- by illustrating just what society's ideal morals are. In 1830-1835 and 1850-1855 Godey's Lady's Book, a highly regarded and widely read women's publication, helped define the concepts of "heroine" for its readers.

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[60] Mrs. E.F. Ellet, "Heroic Women of the Revolution: Katharine Steel, or Katy of the Fort," The Lady's Book, 40 (April, 1850), 261.

Heroines in The Lady's Book did mirror the changing values of the American woman. In the 1830s, the magazine's ideal women were modest, well educated, delicate wives and mothers who endured great hardships and only occasionally stepped onto the heroic pedestal to protect their families, then immediately reverted to their delicate ways. This is just what the republican mothers of the day would have expected their role models to do. Heroines of the 1850s weren't delicate at all. Rather, they loved adventure, were resourceful and had more realistic personalities (though, of course, they were never allowed to exhibit any negative characteristics). These heroines were still wives and mothers, but they were patriots, reformers and contributors to their communities as well. Heroines in The Lady's Book sometimes ignored instructions laid out in their own magazine, illustrating conflicting values of women of their day, who were just beginning to grapple with the controversial issue of women's rights.

It is interesting to note that not a single heroine of either decade was a contemporary woman -- all were historic characters. Did no woman of the 1830s and 1850s live up to the heroic standards put forth by The Lady's Book? Or did the idea that "fame" led to debasement deter the magazine's writers and editors from venerating a woman of their own era? Even surgeon Sarah Blackwell, Sarah Hale's pride and joy, was never called a heroine, at least in the years examined.

Early- to mid-19th-century heroines were not allowed to stand up on that heroic pedestal too long -- fame was not only something they didn't seek, it was considered the root of their debasement. It's no wonder the most frequent symbol of the American heroine, as Wecter pointed out, is the bronze statue of the *anonymous* pioneer mother. Looking at heroes and heroines of a particular era adds to our knowledge of history by illustrating what values were important to the people of the day. A lack of heroes from a gender, or group of people, might point to conflicting values which made it improbable that any man or woman from that group could make the long climb up to the top of the pedestal of national heroism.

FURTHER RESEARCH

An interesting study would examine other newspapers and periodicals in the 1830s and 1850s to determine if the characteristics of their heroic women were different from those portrayed in The Lady's Book, which was read mainly by upper-middle-class white women. Publications read by women laborers of the shoe and textile industries, for example, might paint a different picture. Regional publications, too, might portray heroes differently, as might, later in the century, the emerging African-American press. Were heroic women completely ignored in larger newspapers of the day? Examining heroines of all classes will give historians a better understanding of what being a woman was like in the early 19th century.

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CULTURAL POLITICS AND THE PRESS IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC

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It is a commonplace to remark on a distinctive feature of the French press, perhaps even more marked at the end of the nineteenth century than it is today, when everyone is quite aware of it, namely that French newspapers make no distinction between reporting and analysis. In contrast to modern American newspapers, for example, with their cult of balanced, objective reporting, the French press adopts a frankly political or ideological approach to filling its pages. To quote the comprehensive General History of the French Press edited by Claude Bellanger, "the opposition between conservative and republican was, at the beginning of the Third Republic, sufficiently sharp that each paper clearly defined its program and may therefore be easily located in one of these political categories."[1]

In fact, the General History of the French Press articulates much more precisely than this quote would suggest the political positions of the dozens of papers that proliferated in France during the four decades leading up to the Great War. As a result of these authors' efforts, it is quite easy to identify particular papers as representing a monarchist position, or a conservative republican, or radical republican or a socialist or anarchist position, to give only the broad range of possibilities for the end of the century, in this most complicated of political party structures. There were in addition numerous single-political-issue newspapers, of which the most important were clerical and anti-clerical. Bellanger et al. also make very shrewd educated guesses, based on the style, cost, circulation data, and political orientation of the various newspapers, as well as on documentary and anecdotal evidence, of the social composition of their clientele.

It should be possible, then, at least in theory, by analyzing articles in the French press, to identify the attitudes of different political, and even social groups towards overtly political controversies such as the Dreyfus Affair and in addition towards any number of other issues addressed in the press. Exercising due caution, we should be able to compare Legitimist monarchists with Orleanists in their attitudes towards colonial wars in Senegal, and towards Senegalese dancers performing in Paris; conservatives and Gambettists in their attitudes towards the centenary celebrations of 1879; and radicals and socialists in their attitudes towards Impressionist art or the novels of Emile Zola. I have not so far encountered any attempts on the part of historians to exploit this marvelous resource systematically for establishing the social and political correlates of French culture.

Thus the first goal of this paper is to assess the heuristic capacity of Bellanger's systematic analysis of the French press by attempting to apply it to the realm of cultural politics. In order to provide a challenging test of the efficacy of this methodology, I have chosen to focus on the rather esoteric field of the political and social content of reviews of French opera in the press of the pre-war Third Republic. The scope and the novelty of this enterprise will be my excuse for a conclusion that consists of little more than an agenda for further research.

Opera's significant but highly anomolous position in the social and political life of the era also makes opera criticism an intrinsically worthy object of study for the historian of journalism. Opera was the diversion of choice of the highest social, political and economic elites of the Third Republic, administered and subsidized by the government. Yet modern musicologists and contemporary observers agree -- misguidedly, I believe -- that opera conveyed no political or ideological content of any kind to its audience. A second goal of this study is therefore to uncover and describe the background and milieu, the attitudes and work habits, and ultimately the social function, of those journalists who constituted the highly visible and occasionally influential fraternity of opera critics, and who interpreted or suppressed for the audience such ideological content as the opera might have contained.

Among the very few journals -- all of them out of the political mainstream -- that ignored the opera completely, were the newspapers of the far left, whose readership had no access to the opera and whose editors were offended both personally and politically by the conspicuous luxury displayed there. The Marxist *Le Cri du Peuple* confined itself to repeating the cry for an end to government subsidies for an art form that was not accessible to its own working class subscribers. *La Croix* and *l'Univers*, journals on the traditional, monarchist, right, might have been expected to take an interest in the traditional amusement of the kings of France, except that they were also ultra-Catholic to the point of dismissing the opera as immoral. (This did not inhibit them from reporting the horse-racing results.) But the typical mainstream newspaper, from the anti-republican but non-clerical right to the socialist but non-revolutionary left, devoted a remarkable amount of space to the opera. Even relatively inexpensive journals, intended for people of moderate or slim means who could not possibly afford to attend the opera, covered it extensively.

Coverage of a new opera would typically begin with the dress-rehearsal; this first review outlined the plot and called the attention of the readers to highlights of the music that they might watch for when they attended -- or that they might discuss intelligently whether they had attended or not. The day following the opening of a new work, there would be an account of the premiere by the "soiriste," responsible for covering noteworthy "evenings" of all sorts. He would concentrate on descriptions of the audience: who had been there, what clothes they had worn, how enthusiastic they had been. He might also comment on visual aspects of the production such as costumes and décors, and sometimes on the performances of the lead singers and dancers. A few days later, usually on the following Monday, would appear a full scale review by the music critic, who addressed any aspect of the opera that attracted his attention. In some cases the drama critic might also provide a separate review. In one case when a newspaper sponsored an opera premiere financially it provided, in addition to the coverage described above, a lead article by Emile Zola, on whose book the libretto was based, and an eight-page illustrated supplemented with sketches of the various scenes. Following the premiere, the paper also published for its readers the guest list and menu of its fete in honor of the authors.3

One of the obvious methodological questions that needs to be addressed before proceeding further is whether the opinions of these opera reviewer accurately reflected, or rather anticipated, those of their editors or readers, whose political opinions can be inferred with the guidance of Bellanger et al. The only evidence on this point is anecdotal. We know that the monarchist journal Le Gaulois hired writers without regard for their politics, and allowed them free expression. But we know about it precisely because this practice was so exceptional as to be noteworthy. It might also happen that a newspaper changed political direction -- a common occurence highly irritating to the historian -- while retaining a critic who had, over the years, acquired some renown or a faithful following which contributed to the circulation of the paper. In such a case, as occurred on at least one controversial occasion, a newspaper's editorial staff might disclaim the opinions of their critic, and provide a separate review which represented the collective opinion of the management. Such evidence tends to corroborate the judgment of the author of "La Critique musicale," the most important Belle Epoque discussion of the question, that "in the long run, the critics only wrote for those who thought like they did."[4]

Among the fifteen operas for which I surveyed the reviews systematically -- in ten or more newspapers -- there were numerous instances in which the political orientation of the paper obviously determined, or at least coincided with, the critic's response to what was happening on stage. Some newspapers had specific axes to grind, in their opera reviews as in everything else in the paper. The egregious anti-semitism of _l'Echo de Paris_, for instance, showed up in its critique of the libretto for Gounod's _Le Cid_: "this epoch will see the triumph of industrialism and Jewry in all the arts. . . . Corneille [author of the original play on which the libretto was based] is crucified by d'Ennery and the two adaptors."[5] Similarly, the monarchist _Gazette de France_ vented its clerical, anti-populist spleen on the opera _Henri VIII_, saying of the lead character:

"Henri VIII appeals to the people -- like a Bonaparte -- and causes the *canaille* of London to invade the hall of Parliament -- a proceeding worthy of a heretic of the sixteenth century, or a republican of the present day."[6]

In a number of suggestive cases, the opera reviews clearly split along political lines in their judgments of entire operas or of individual episodes within them. All the reviewers commented on a stirring chorus of noble conspirators in a Renaissance costume drama called Cinq-Mars. The noteworthy passage included the refrain: "Let us save the king, the nobility and France. Let us deliver the throne and the altar." A critic from the monarchist journal Le Soleil commented: "this is truly elevated and elevating," but the reviewer for La République Française, the paper of the radical Gambettistes, suggested that "it is almost irritating that the music found accents of genius for lyrics that sound so hollow." Le Rappel, further to the left, referred to "these verses of another era."[7]

The ultra-radical Le Rappel also carried the only favorable review (among those that I read) of the libretto of Leo Delibes' Kassya, in which the hero leads a violent peasant revolt against a rapacious local lord. More significant, perhaps, is the extent to which the leftist papers dwelled, in describing this plot, on the iniquities of the evil count, while those on the right devoted the preponderance of their coverage to the (inevitable) love affair.[8] In the case of the opera Sapho, about a revolutionary conspiracy against an evil tyrant, which had run afoul of Napoleon III's censorship thirty years previously, only the radical paper La Justice, and again Le Rappel, reviewed the opera favourably.[9] The other eight papers that I looked at, ranging from moderately radical to far right, were ambivalent or much more critical.

In reviews of the most controversial of all pre-war opera premieres, that of Bizet's Carmen, we also see the clearest split, along political lines, in the reaction of the press. To the librettists, it appeared that their was a concerted campaign against the opera among some of the most important newspapers which, as if by signal, published very malevolent advance notices of the planned production.[10] There is little doubt that many of the critics, perhaps the majority, were sharply critical of the music, of the libretto, and especially of the frank and unashamed sensuality of Galli-Marié, the soprano who played the title role. Scholars have speculated that the critics' animus may have owed something to the impresario's refusal to bribe the bribable press according to the accepted practice. But unless the venal critics coincidentally all worked for the journals of the right, it seems more likely that the social and political orientation of their papers' clientele was the essential determining factor in the critics' response to Carmen.

Le Figaro, the most influential of all the newspapers in opera circles because of its subscription list, "the golden book of the aristocracy, of the wealthiest bourgeoisie, of great commerce, of the highest industry, of the army, of the most elegant of the foreign colony," and still, at that time, Legitimist (Bourbon monarchist) in its political outlook, called the heroine of the opera "absolutely foul and odiously repulsive," and says the audience didn't like much of it.[11] This Carmen, said *Le Siècle*, is a case more likely to provoke the solicitude of a physician than to interest the honest spectators who come to the Opéra-Comique in company with their wives and daughters. The critic of *L'Ordre*, the official organ of the Bonapartists, criticized Galli-Marié's interpretation of the leading role, emphasized the break with the traditions of the Opéra-Comique, and seemed almost to gloat over *Carmen*'s failure, of which he seemed completely convinced. The clerical, militarist, anti-republican organ of "progressive" Bonapartism, *Le Pays*, took a similar approach, including the criticism of Galli-Marié. The writer claimed to wish the opera well, but gave it no chance of success. While finding some praiseworthy elements in *Carmen*, the critic for the conservative, Bonapartist daily, *Le Gaulois*, commented on the disappointment of the audience, who, out of sympathy for the authors of the piece, had wanted nothing better than to like it. He also wrote that Mme. Galli-Marié seemed to take pleasure in emphasizing the scabrous side of her "dangerous" role. "It would be difficult to go farther down the road of provocative business without provoking the intervention of the police," he concluded.[12]

This theme of the threat represented by Galli-Marié/Carmen was a recurring one among the critics on the right, who repeatedly focused on the "realism" of the role. The critic for the monarchist Paris-Journal, after roundly condemning Bizet (and his school), lashed into Galli-Marié, who

> found the means to trivialize and render the role of Carmen more odious and more abject than Merimée [author of the original novella] imagined. She treated it with the brutally realistic methods of M. Courbet. . .[13]

It would not have been uncommon, in the newspaper world of the 1870s, for opera reviewers to have doubled as police court reporters, in which capacity they would have seen numerous women like Carmen either as victims or perpetrators of so-called crimes of passion. Since such trials were *causes célèbres*, well attended by bourgeois aficianados of the courts, the threatening type of Carmen, suddenly appearing on the stage of the Opéra-Comique, would have been familiar as well as all too real. It was Bizet's reference to the real world of the working-class districts of Paris that seems to have aroused the virulence of the reviewers. Simon Boubée, though otherwise utterly misguided in everything he said about the work, did manage to express the fears of the rightist critics most succinctly. Writing in the Orléanist Gazette de France, he condemned Galli-Marié particularly for making Carmen what he calls "*canaille*." For Boubeé, Carmen struck a little too close to home: "Mme Galli-Marié seems to think she is in one of the *faubourgs* of Paris."[14]

Jules Guillemot, in the center-right Le Soleil, located the action even more precisely: "while Escamillo is triumphing in a bullfight, the scene which I just described is taking place in the Rue Oberkampf!. . . I mean in the *plaza de toros*."[16]

Contrary to the impression left by most modern Bizet scholars, however, the press was by no means unanimous in its denunciation of the opera or of Galli-Marié's interpretation of the title role. This is not to deny that the premiere was perceived as a failure, nor that the reaction of the press contributed to this result. But by no means all the critics, nor even those with the largest circulation, felt obliged to object.

Le Petit Journal, one of the new popular, inexpensive, moderate republican sheets, while not exactly effusive, was generally favorable to the opera, and said that Galli-Marié was well applauded. Reyer, in the Journal des Débats, had scarcely a word of criticism, and seemed to think that Carmen might eventually be a success. Several reviewers, though ambivalent towards the opera as a whole, and especially towards the character of Carmen, approved of the authors' and composer's initiative in trying to overcome the limitations of the traditional *opéra-comique* form. Gambetta's paper, La République Française, contained serious criticisms of the piece, but complimented the librettists, at least, for having contributed to this "revolution." The reviewer also had high praise for Galli-Marié, and described the applause for her as very enthusiastic.

Le Rappel, further to the left, devoted a large part of its review to making fun of the traditional genre. The reviewer didn't think the Opera-Comique had, as yet, attracted as much of an audience for corpses as it had for weddings, but he hoped that *Carmen* will help people to get used to them. He too had "nothing but praise to give to Galli-Marié."[16]

Republican papers tended to approve of *Carmen* for its realism, precisely the quality that the papers of the right found most objectionable. Weber, in *Le Temps*, found the character of Carmen very unsympathetic, but praised Bizet for bringing a little novelty and a little realism to the Opéra-Comique stage. Among the most favorable of the reviewers was Charles de la Rounat, writing in *Le XIXe Siècle*. He was full of praise for the libretto, the score, and for Galli-Marié, for whom the role was a "triumph." Far from glossing over the realistic aspects of Carmen, he admired Galli-Marié particularly for having brought to the stage "a character of gripping realism."[17] Adolphe Jullien scolded Bizet not for the risks he had taken or the innovations he had accomplished, but for the compromises he had felt obliged to make with the integrity of the piece. He strongly supported the interpretation of the leading character:

> Galli-Marié deserves nothing but praise. Carmen is and will remain her most remarkable creation. Actress, singer, and dancer by turns, she knew how to give this strange figure of a gypsy girl an arresting cachet of truth. . .[18]

Confronted with a real-life Carmen, the bourgeois men who wrote opera reviews for republican journals would undoubtedly have been as unnerved as those who worked for monarchist papers. The republicans' support for the opera, and for Galli-Marié's performance in particular, stemmed not from the character and values of Carmen, which they disparaged more often than not, but from the break with tradition represented by Bizet's commitment to stage realism. In the 1870s, these writers of the left were fighting a political battle in which art could potentially play a significant role by forcing its audience to confront social reality. If dirty, violent, subversive, threatening gypsies such as Carmen were not exactly allies in this fight, at least the conventional, colorful, submissive, Opéra-Comique gypsies, whom Bizet and his director wanted to rehabilitate or to replace, were clearly agents of the enemy.

Persuasive as this evidence seems to be, we must consider the case of Carmen as the exception rather than the rule. In the long run, despite these examples to the contrary, the social and political orientation of the newspaper was not a reliable guide to the attitude that the reviewer would take up towards various operas that might have been politically controversial. How could the reviewer of the radical, anticlerical République Française call the religious episodes in Le Cid the most "elevated in the new work," and review this reactionary opera favorably? "First, the prayer of Rodrigue is of a beautiful character," he wrote, "then the voices from heaven, which little by little insinuate themselves in the general sonority to accompany and sustain the pious appeals of the young chevalier, give to this mystical tableau a penetrating poetry which moves and profoundly touches the sincere listener."[19]

I conclude, on the basis of extensive negative evidence, that generally speaking, within limits defined by the most volatile works of the repertoire, such as Carmen, opera reviews did not serve in any overt, deliberate way, as a focus for the political and social agendas of the various groups that edited newspapers. The genuine difference in approach is between the organs of those political groups that had no hope of influence in the political process, such as the editors of Le Rappel, and those closer to the mainstream. Otherwise, the uniformity of opinion that pervaded the reviews of all the newspapers, from fairly far left to traditional right, is striking. Nearly all the newspapers that reviewed opera took very similar positions. I therefore propose a very different social and political function for opera criticism: that of helping to integrate political factions that were potential candidates for a share of political power into a common culture and outlook.

Cozy, club-like relationships among the well-known reviewers helped to submerge political differences that might otherwise have divided them. In selecting new candidates for the position of critic, the range of their acquaintance was much more important than their capacity for the job, according to one critic of the critics. Another described the group as a corporation, complete with an official banquet;[20] membership depended to a large extent on conformity to certain fundamental behavior patterns and belief structures. Co-opted into the "Tout-Paris of the opera," the most elegant club in Paris, with its ambience of luxurious high society and its formidable perquisites, critics willing to play the game were invited to conform to an approach to opera criticism that transcended the political differences of the papers they worked for.

Reviewers were to be seen walking arm in arm in the corridors, in the foyer of the audience or that of the actors during the entr'actes. They wore the same clothes, and dined at the same hour, and shared similar beliefs, such as the idea that while reasonable men might disagree strongly about the merits of various artistic movements, art was nonetheless fundamentally neutral politically; that high culture was more valid than popular culture; that bourgeois men acted rationally while women and lower class men were dominated by their passions; that lower class women were at the disposal of bourgeois men. Reviewers could be judged by their peers according to the extent that they incorporated these values into their reviews.

A general perception that theatre critics required no particular skills or training in order to succeed opened the door wide to ambitious young litterateurs. One common type of aspiring critic was the *petit fonctionnaire* who did well at school in rhetoric and orthography, was bored at the office, and loved the theatre, but didn't have the money to satisfy his passion. As a critic he could attend as often as he liked, bring his mistress, even take notes conspicuously in the middle of the orchestra, sitting next to Théophile Gauthier. When the secretaries and ticket-takers recognized him, he began to consider himself an important person; he met actors and actresses less educated than himself. When he received perfumed thank-you notes, his bosses and co-workers accused him of pretending to sleep with actresses every night and of arriving at the office late, tired out from orgies.[21] Particularly notorious for their incapacity during this era were those who reviewed music, including the opera. Critics of the critics agree that it was common for newspapers to assign literary critics to cover musical events. Calvocaressi asserts that the same journalist might be responsible for music, literature, political bulletins, and even the sports news.[22] After 1900, in response to a perceived need, the Ecole de Journalisme of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales inaugurated a course in musical criticism to supplement an already existing course in dramatic criticism.[23]

"The critics are blasé," wrote Emile Zola in 1880; "there are very few who are really conscientious enough to get worked up over an opinion; some rely on style, other are just good old boys [*font de la camaraderie*]; still other are simply making a living."[24] Some critics were notoriously lax. Charles Monselet, one of the best-known literary figures in Paris, stopped attending the theatre altogether following a duel with an offended playwright, but continued covering premieres for Le Monde Illustré for thirty more years, basing his criticisms on articles by other journalists. It was commonly understood, as mentioned above, that a portion of the fraternity were susceptible to bribery. Others engaged in obvious cabals, which further discredited not only the individuals involved, but their colleagues as well.[25]

It was the opinion of some critics that others were in the pay, or at least under the orders of the government, and everything we know about the French press of the era makes this more likely than not. When the government came out in strong support of a highly controversial production of Wagner's Lohengrin, which caused fairly serious rioting in the streets of Paris, one opposition critic wrote: "On the order of the minister, whose grain they eat, all the journalists of the government supported Wagner, excused his injuries to us, and exalted his musical genius, even though nineteen out of twenty of them don't know a single note of his operas."[26] Press coverage of the incident corroborates his data, and his analysis is equally persuasive. There can be little doubt that columnists for papers that supported the government routinely followed the government line whenever there was one.

Independent, conscientious reviewers who might have resisted the seductions of the fraternity also faced pressure from editors who attempted to dictate the slant of their reviews according to financial considerations. Established papers typically discouraged "Quixotism" by critics in order not to jeopardize subscriptions. Newer operations adopted a deliberately provocative tone, as the aspiring critic Emile Bergerat noted following an interview with an editor of the fledgling Evènement:

> He demanded severity, because they always want severity to begin with. "We have to cleanse the theatre," he declared to me magnificently, "chase the vendors out of the temple, reconquer the old supremacy."
>
> "Yes, yes, make way for youth," I blurted out excitedly.
>
> "*C'est ça*! You are just the man we need."[87]

According to Bergerat (a notorious *blagueur*), when he arrived at the offices of l'Evènement to begin work, the editors were all practicing fencing. The evident connection between the circulation drives of such papers and the tone of their critics effectively compromised the integrity and reliability of the provocative critics as much as if they had joined the club. Writers who might have engaged in genuine theatre criticism gave in or got discouraged after years of waiting for an opportunity; others went to work for very small journals which quickly failed because no one read them.[88]

The degree of influence that critics held over the opinions of the opera audience is difficult to assess. The distinguished composer and critic Ernst Reyer, writing in the well-respected

Journal des Débats, attributed to them considerable authority over their readers: "With the exception of some free spirits who claim to obey only the impressions that they experience, all the others take as their rule . . . the opinion that the most authorized judges have traced for them."[29] Some individual critics certainly maintained a prominent role in the deliberations of opera management and even the government. Even after his formal retirement, Francisque Sarcey's opinion would be decisive in the appointment of a Director of Fine Arts. Public threats by Alfred Edwards, *redacteur* of Le Matin, likewise forced the reinstatement of a co-director of the Opéra after he had been dismissed by the government. On another occasion, Edwards imposed one of his mistresses on the management of the Opéra-Comique as second lead in the opera Guernica, and even required the directors to eliminate two acts of the opera because she did not appear in them:

> "Wait," said one of the librettists, when Edwards got up to leave the first reading, "there are two acts more. Paul Vidal will play them for you."
>
> "Not at all," declared Edwards. "The piece is finished and it is a success."[30]

In this case, the powerful journalist failed to deliver the goods; the truncated Guernica attained the embarrassingly low total of only seven performances.

In the long run, such notoriously unprofessional behavior on the part of the professional critics, and their cozy relationships, undermined their authority with the general public. The best, most conscientious drama critics were able to maintain their reputations and their self-respect, and their positions in the fraternity of critics, only by deemphasizing the role of ideas in the theatre. Critics encouraged the public to think of the opera as a mere pleasant diversion, and championed an aesthetic system that minimized the intellectual significance of the theatre, especially of the musical theatre, but this undercut their importance even further.

Sarcey, the scrupulous, thoroughly conservative drama critic for Le Temps, dominated his profession during the early part of the Belle Epoque. By virtue of impeccable integrity and exceptionally hard work, he established a wide and faithful following who trusted him as the representative of the average theatre-goer. It was said of this grand old man of the theatre, whose prejudices every author who aspired to popular success had to take into account, that he preferred that "theatre should not be a means of education, but a pretext for promoting digestion in an overstuffed audience by stimulating the erotic and sentimental juices."[31]

Resistance to the intrusion of ideas was especially strong in the case of the musical theatre. Beginning under the Second

Empire, and continuing for most of the pre-war Third Republic, the ultimate criterion for judging an opera was the pleasure it provided. The classic protest against the adulteration of the opera appeared in the Revue des Deux Mondes in 1859 under the byline of Scudo, who, in his day, "reigned over Parisian musical opinion.":

> It is a sure sign of decadence to pretend to extract from arts like music or painting supposedly profound effects which it is not in their nature to produce. . . . Without the form, which should above all please my senses, it is in vain that you invite me to reflect or meditate at length on . . . a score that does not contain the particular beauties that I have a right to seek there. . . I do not go to the theatre to take a course in metaphysics, nor to meditate on the government of empires or the mysteries of Providence; I go there seeking a delicate pleasure.[32]

This shift in emphasis away from commentary on the implicitly political content of the operatic arts, which had been a feature of opera criticism under the July Monarchy,[33] may be attributed to the wholesale reorientation of French journalism accomplished by Louis-Napoléon. His repressive regime, through its censorship office, and by routine and successful physical intimidation of journalists, virtually eliminated public references to politics from the press. Once politics had been banished as a subject for discussion, the success or failure of the journalistic ventures of the period came to depend on discursive columns of commentary on the passing social and literary scenes, in which substance was prudently subordinated to elegant prose, creative imagination, and the essential *esprit*.

What had been merely dangerous under the Second Empire became unfashionable under the Republic. After the liberalization of the Empire, and especially after the triumph of republicanism during the late seventies, when the public again began selecting newspapers on the basis of political content rather than literary style, theatre criticism continued to be the preserve of the resolutely apolitical. Journalists were increasingly preoccupied with the external aspect of the productions, according to M.A. Deville in La Philosophie au Théâtre (1883): "The papers talk a lot about the theatre, but concern themselves very little with the ideas (there are no true critics anymore); they describe the costumes and the decors, the staging and the choreography, the acting, everything that is material in a show."[39]

Until the 1890s, when the advent of *Wagnérisme* persuaded the French public to take opera -- and especially the ideas conveyed by the words -- more seriously, theoreticians of taste continued to subscribe to an approach to opera criticism that subordinated its social and political content to strictly aesthetic concerns. The implications were profound. Eschewing overt partisan political persuasion enabled critics to present as ideologically neutral, as common sense, ideas that actually had the interests of particular groups embedded in them, that favored the status quo and the distribution of power incorporated in it. As theoreticians of opera, the critics could also define the acceptable range of discourse to exclude any consideration of the relationship of art to society.

This conclusion complicates the project as originally conceived, of applying Bellanger's categorization of the French press to the cultural politics of opera. Since opera reviewers were committed, for ideological reasons, to the idea that opera had no political content -- that it was in fact incapable of conveying ideas -- it was not in fact possible to apply the information in the Histoire Générale in quite such a direct way as I expected. I cannot conclude that reviewers working for journals with different political persuasions reviewed favorably the operas that served the ideological needs of their readers or editors.

But two more subtle hypotheses are suggested by the material presented above. One is that reviewers reacted negatively to the music, the staging, or the decors, of operas to which their real objection was that they found the ideological content uncongenial. Alternatively we might hypothesize that newspapers of different political persuasions would disagree in what they thought constituted a good opera, hence in the degree of emphasis they placed on the different constituent arts of the opera -- the decors and costumes, the music, the quality of the lead singers, the dramatic qualities of the works. This in turn should have political implications; conservative newspapers would want to maintain the status quo by emphasizing the arts that were least capable of conveying political ideas. They would play down the importance of the words, and concentrate on the music and the performance. Interpreted according to Bellanger's guide to the French press, opera reviews in newspapers with different readerships and different political orientations might still be useful for identifying the attitudes of various political and social groups towards the opera in general, towards specific operas, and even towards specific issues concerning the different constituent art forms within the opera.

NOTES

[1] Claude Bellanger et al., Histoire Générale de la Presse Francaise, 4 vols. (Paris, 1972), III:178. Descriptions of the social and political orientations of the various newspapers mentioned in the material that follows come from volume III of this source without specific citations.

[2] See, for example, Trublot, "A Minuit," Le Cri du Peuple (4/4/1884).

[3] Un Monsieur en habit noir, "L'Attaque du Moulin," Le Journal (11/24/1893).

[4] M.-D. Calvocaressi, "La Critique Musicale: ses devoirs, sa méthode," Courrier musicale, XIII no. 20 (10/15/1910), 665. For the exception of Le Gaulois, Raymond Massey, La Presse de la IIIe République (Paris, 1955), 85f.

[5] Henry Bauer, "Le Cid," L'Echo de Paris (12/2/1885).

[6] Simon Boubée, "Musique," La Gazette de France (3/6/1883).

[7] "Les Théâtres," Le Rappel (4/9/1877); Jules Guillemot, "Théâtres," Le Soleil (4/8/1877); Jean Bertrand, "Drame et Musique," La République Francaise (4/9/1877).

[8] See, for instance reviews in the following papers on the left: La Bataille (3/27/1893), La Justice (3/25/1893); and on the right: l'Eclair (3/26/1893), La Liberté (3/27/1893). Georges Bertal, "Les Théâtres," Le Rappel (3/26/1893).

[9] Edouard Durranc, "Courrier Dramatique," La Justice (4/7/1884); Julien Serment, "La Soirée d'Hier," La Justice (4/3/1884); "Les Théâtres," Le Rappel (4/4/1884).

[10] Ludovic Halévy; "La Millième Représentation de Carmen," Le Théâtre, 1905 no.1 (January-June), 8.

[11] Bénédicte, "Opéra-Comique," Le Figaro (3/5/1875). For the political orientation of the paper at this time, Bellanger et al., Histoire Générale, III:196f.

[12] François Oswald, "Musique," Le Gaulois (3/6/1875); Le Siècle quoted in Halévy, "La Millième Représentation," 10; L. de la C., "Les Premières," l'Ordre (3/6/1875); C.D., "Théâtres," Le Pays (3/5/1875).

[13] Frédérick, "Premières Représentations," Paris-Journal (3/6/1875).

[14] Simon Boubée, "Revue Musicale," Gazette de France (3/8/1875).

[15] Jules Guillemot, "Revue Dramatique," Le Soleil (3/9/1875).

[16] "Les Théâtres," Le Rappel (3/6/1875); Emile Abraham, "Théâtres," Le Petit Journal (3/6/1875); Reyer, "Revue Musicale;" "Théâtres," La République Française (3/8/1875).

[17] Charles de la Rounat, "Causerie Dramatique," Le XIXe Siècle (3/16/1875); J. Weber, "Critique Musicale," Le Temps (3/9/1875).

[18] Jullien, "Revue Musicale." Jullien wrote for Le Français, a journal that represented the Catholic, anti-democratic *notables* of the center right, but he was conspicuous among the opera critics of his era for his intelligent, perceptive, knowledgeable, and independent-minded approach to his task.

[19] Alph. Duvernoy, "Musique," La République Française (12/4/1885).

[20] Jean des Gaules, "Le Monde Comme Il Va," Le National (3/7/1883); Frédéric Hellouin, Essai de critique de la critique musicale (Paris, 1906), 135. For a thorough description of the recruitment, credentials, education, and other occupations of the music critics, Christian Goubault, La Critique Musicale dans la Presse Française de 1870 à 1914 (Geneva and Paris, 1984), 158ff.

[21] "A Monsieur Eugène Manuel," July 1872, Archives Nationales, F XXI (957).

[22] Calvocaressi, "La Critique musicale," 663; Henri Eymieu, "De l'Influence de la Critique," Le Monde Musical, III no. 60 (30 October, 1891), 5. Cf. Ursula Eckart-Bäcker, Frankreichs Musik zwischen Romantik und Modern: Die Zeit im Spiegel der Kritik (Regensburg, 1965), 21; Lionel Dauriac, "A Travers l'Esthétique Musicale: La Critique Musicale au Temps Présent," S.I.M. Revue Musicale Mensuelle, VI no.7 (1910), 470; Hellouin, Essai de Critique, 134f; Goubault, La Critique Musicale, 179.

[23] Hellouin, Essai de critique, 139f.

[24] Emile Zola, "Le Public des Premières," Oeuvres Complètes, Maurice LeBlond, ed., 50 vols. (Paris, 1927), 50:196.

[25] For the cabals, Eymieu, "De l'Influence de la Critique," 5. Cf. Calvocaressi, "La Critique Musicale," 664. For Monselet, see André Monselet, Charles Monselet, sa vie, son oeuvre (Paris, 1892), 176f.

[26] Henri Rochefort, "Le Vrai Malade," L'Intransigeant (9/15/1891); Noël and Stoullig, Annales du Théâtre et de la Musique, 40 vols. (Paris, 1875-1914), 17:20.

[27] Emile Bergerat, *Souvenirs d'un Enfant de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1911-13), 2:12f.

[28] "A Monsieur Eugène Manuel," passim.

[29] E. Reyer, "Revue Musicale," *Journal des Débats* (12/6/1885).

[30] P.-B. Gheusi, *Cinquante Ans de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1940) 3:238ff., 2:54f. For Sarcey's influence, Gaston Jollivet, *Souvenirs d'un Parisien* (Paris, 1928), 234f.; Henri Roujon, *Artistes et Amis des Arts* (Paris, 1912), 50-53; Adolphe Brisson, *Le Théâtre et ses Moeurs* (Paris, n.d.), 8.

[31] Emile Saint-Auban, *L'Idée Sociale au Théâtre* (Paris, 1901), 22.

[32] Scudo, "Revue Musicale," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 23 (10/15/1859), 1016. For the quotation describing his power, (and a description of his incompetence), Goubault, *La Critique Musicale*, 19.

[33] Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image* (N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1987), passim.

[34] M. A. Deville, *La Philosophie au Théâtre* (Paris, 1883), 46.

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THE GENERAL CIRCULATION PRESS AS A TOOL FOR PROPAGANDA: THE WISCONSIN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1910-1919

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Abstract

During the early years of the American woman suffrage movement the general circulation press was generally either hostile or silent toward the reform, the movement, and the women engaged in it. Suffragists responded to this by establishing their own publications through which they could communicate to the membership and keep the flame alive. After the turn of the century, however, suffragists became more assertive toward the general circulation press and began to develop propaganda tactics in order to: (1) catch press attention; (2) gain press access for suffrage ideas; and (3) win press support for the reform. Like many other reformers of the time, they were convinced in the power of the press to sway public opinion and made it their goal to harness that power. In Wisconsin, suffragists of different generations split over how assertive this campaign should be. After a nineteen-month rivalry during the campaign for a suffrage referendum in 1911-1912, the methods of the younger generation gained ascendancy and dominated the movement for the remainder of the suffrage struggle.

This paper examines the various strategies employed by Wisconsin suffrage organizations during the last decade of the movement in that state. Although they were often frustrated by the press's responses to these attempts, they praised the press for playing a vital role in their victory when Wisconsin was the first state to ratify the federal suffrage amendment in 1919. This paper uses as its sources letters, suffrage organization documents, and articles published in the suffrage and the general circulation press.

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> *(P)ublicity is absolutely necessary to success these days.*
> *-- Suffrage worker to Ada James, 1911* [1]

> *It would be impossible to over-emphasize the importance of the Press in this moment for woman suffrage. I hope you are helping us all you can.* *-- PEL campaign manager to editor,* *Minocqua Times* [2]

Leaders of the woman suffrage movement for decades depended on the suffrage press for communication with members of the movement. Although material appearing in this medium often reached interested publics such as prohibitionists, anti-prohibitionists, and anti-suffragists, it generally failed to reach the greater public. For this, access to the general circulation press, which reached every community in the state and nearly every reader in the community, was necessary.[3]

But here, suffragists of course ran into a barrier. It was the very barrier that had caused them to create their own publications in the first place: the press was for the most part opposed to suffrage. In the first decades of the movement this opposition was illustrated by the failure of general circulation newspapers and magazines to cover suffrage as a legitimate issue of newsworthy interest. They either ignored the issue entirely or printed articles and editorials that treated woman's votes as a joke, ridiculing and disparaging both the suffragists and their arguments for the franchise.

By the turn of the century, however, the movement had gathered enough momentum to attract attention. Four states had awarded the franchise to women, women were voting in school and municipal elections in many communities, and more and more state associations were petitioning legislatures for full suffrage each year. "Votes for Women" was becoming an issue debated increasingly in the open, and although the press might not approve of it, it was beginning to at least consider it a "newsworthy" topic. The number of articles on suffrage increased exponentially as the new century progressed, and some of those newspapers that had added a "woman's page" to attract female readers often included articles that dealt with suffrage in some way. This increased interest in publishing articles on suffrage, however, in no way meant that the majority of publications supported the reform. Many continued to ridicule "women's votes" while others expressed outright hostility and opposition.[4]

Because of this negative attitude, some suffragists saw the press only as an opponent to be avoided. In Wisconsin, for example, the state suffrage association's president, Olympia Brown, was so outraged by inaccurate and unfriendly reporting of her campaign in 1887 to win court recognition of her right to vote in school elections that she vowed to have nothing to do with the press. Rather than seeing it as a potential ally, according to one historian, she saw it as a "primary obstacle in the battle for public opinion." Thus in 1888 she established the Wisconsin Citizen in part to counter the ridicule and inaccuracy of the general press and in part to keep suffragists informed. In the first issue of the Citizen, in fact, she warned her readers not to believe what they read in the newspapers, admonishing them to "trust your own knowledge of the officers of the Association rather than newspaper sensationalisms and idle or malicious gossip."[5]

Brown frequently monitored the press, much as a sentry might keep an eye on the enemy camp. When it was time to raise an alarum, she occasionally registered a protest through a letter to the editor, but more often used the pages of the Citizen to record her complaint. In May 1901, for example, she published a column lambasting the Independent, a New York magazine, for publishing an article that "besides presenting the claim and objects sought by the advocates of woman suffrage in a false light, was filled with slurs and sneers" at suffragists, "referring to them as 'mannish women,' as 'agitators,' persons 'belonging to the third sex' and to their arguments as 'blatant assumptions' or 'wild vagaries.'" These broadsides were the extent of her response to the press. Even after 1895, when the National American Woman Suffrage Association under Carrie Chapman Catt established specific policies to aggressively pursue press coverage and support, neither Brown nor the members of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association made any concerted or organized effort to win press coverage or support.[6]

Although Brown's policy of avoiding the press might have made sense in the 1880s, when the general public might still be reached from the pulpit and the lecture hall, it had become an anachronism by the second decade of the twentieth century. By this time, most reform organizations, like the NAWSA, as well as interest groups and big and small business alike had long since recognized the power of the press and the need to harness that power. Not only were newspapers crucial in getting the "message" to the general public, they believed, but as "opinion leaders" in their communities, newspapers were believed to be crucial in influencing public opinion. Finally, politicians who believed this argument, often took it a step further and believed that the press *represented* public opinion. They might, therefore, be swayed to support an issue once the newspapers did in the belief that the newspaper represented the views of their constituents.[7]

A new breed of media professionals -- press agents -- took advantage of this belief. Their forte was selling propaganda in the guise of news and creating "news" events to promote their clients and their goods, which ranged anywhere from circuses to national heros to land in the West. At first editors of expanding newspapers who were hard-pressed to fill their pages welcomed the "free" copy press agents provided. They were quickly overwhelmed by a deluge of press agentry, however, and realized belatedly that for every piece of propaganda they printed as news, they were losing potential advertising revenue from the same source. Trade organizations such as the American Newspaper Publishers Association began to warn newspapers to distinguish between propaganda and genuine news and to make corporations and interest groups pay for publicity. To place their material in an over-saturated market, press agents were forced to become increasingly inventive.[8]

When a suffrage bill was presented to the legislature in the winter of 1911, younger women in support of suffrage mobilized to campaign for the bill. Some of these women were clubwomen, some were professionals, many had a college education, and most were impatient with the careful methods Brown had developed over the years. They soon rebelled against the control Brown had held over the movement for the past twenty-five years and created their own suffrage organization, the Political Equality League. One of the first things they recognized was the need to capture the general press as a megaphone for the suffrage message. They were entering a highly competitive arena for which they had no structure, no strategy, and no leadership, but they did have the model established by Catt and tried by the NAWSA for the last fifteen years.

Ada James, the daughter of the state senator who had proposed the suffrage bill, became the president of the newly organized PEL. One of her first tasks was to establish a balanced approach to publicity and the press. "I believe it is wise to work as quietly as possible, relying on the press for most of our propaganda," she wrote her executive board in late May. In response to a suggestion from Illinois suffrage speaker Catherine Waugh McCulloch that the PEL stage publicity stunts in the cities to attract attention, she cautioned, "(M)y idea is to arouse as little opposition and antagonism as possible... For that reason I am not in favor of making much noise."[9]

When the PEL opened offices in Milwaukee in June 1911, it took a first step toward establishing a link with the state's more than six hundred newspapers by hiring a clipping bureau to supply all articles on the suffrage campaign and by appointing a press committee to "answer all adverse articles and to correct all misstatements on woman suffrage" that might be made in the press.[10] Since it had no publication of its own at this date, the PEL adopted the Woman's Journal as its official paper and offered to negotiate an exchange with the state's newspapers. By July, more than seventy had replied in the affirmative, although at least one newspaper responded that it would prefer receiving material originating with the PEL and bearing directly on the campaign in Wisconsin.[11]

This was still a quite passive relationship with the press, and James did not yet seem to have a clear plan of how to create a more active position. In early July she wrote Theodora Youmans, the assistant editor of the Waukesha Freeman whom she had met while lobbying for the suffrage bill that winter, for advice on how she might arouse public interest in the referendum. Youmans' response was clearly influenced by her experience as a journalist:

> One excellent way to awaken interest is through the state press. Could you consider the plan of sending out each week -- or possibly each month at present -- a printed leaflet of suffrage news to all the newspapers in the state? The material for such a leaflet should be carefully prepared by a practiced newspaper worker, and the items should be brief. The state university has been doing this for years and the result has been an incalculable amount of the best kind of advertising at the expense only of getting out the leaflet.... This plan would not involve great expense, but to work out successfully, would in my opinion have to be placed in charge of one who knows what newspapers want and how they want it.[12]

By July, the league had hired as its campaign manager Crystal Eastman Benedict, a New York lawyer who had recently moved to Milwaukee with her husband, and acquired the assistance of Catherine McCulloch, who was loaned to the Wisconsin campaign by the Illinois association. Both women were well acquainted with some of the more successful campaign events tried out in the East in the last few years, and immediately set in motion a series of activities that were sure to attract press attention. Although these went against James' idea of "proceeding quietly," Benedict and McCulloch apparently convinced her of their usefulness. Through the summer, automobile tours, street speeches, outdoor meetings and rallies, and open-air suffrage booths at the state and county fairs quickly attracted the state newspapers' attention, resulting in a number of largely positive articles through the summer and early fall.[13]

Although the league did not formally employ a "cracking good press agent," James succeeded in getting Youmans to take on that job. Within weeks of her response to James' query on how to arouse public interest, the Waukesha Freeman editor was arranging for publicity for these campaign events and was later credited with drawing a crowd of five hundred to an outdoor meeting in Waukesha in early August. By fall Youmans was publicizing those events in a weekly suffrage column in the Freeman, and by winter she had become chairman of the PEL press committee. In January, this "cracking good" press chairman began producing a weekly Press Bulletin which eventually went out to more than six hundred newspapers in the state. For the remainder of the campaign Youmans worked two days a week in her capacity as press chairman and churned out the weekly news letter as well as a flood of articles, letters to the editor, and press releases.[14]

Under Youmans and Benedict's direction, but always under the guiding hand of Ada James, the PEL launched a two-pronged attack on the press. Youmans' role was to get suffrage stories in the press directly through the cooperation of the editors. Here, she used the Press Bulletin and the Woman's Journal as sources for articles that could be clipped and reprinted, as well as articles and press releases supplied directly to specific newspapers by members of the press committee. Her goal was first to get editors' agreement to run regular suffrage columns, or lacking that, occasional articles submitted by the PEL. The hope was that by exposure to this material the newspapers' editors would become interested enough in the campaign to start covering suffrage events and progress of the suffrage bill in a positive fashion on their own. The final step, of course, would be to win their endorsement of the bill. Benedict, instead, focussed on organizing a campaign that included plenty of newsworthy events that would pique the editors' interest and motivate them to cover the movement. She would then depend on Youmans to promote these events.[15]

Not all newspapers were equal, of course, and their response to suffrage press agentry was often dependent on a number of variables. In this age of the so-called "non-partisan" press, many Wisconsin newspapers were still closely affiliated with political parties, political figures, and machine politics. Many were influenced by the ethnic, religious, or economic nature of their communities, while others were affected by the personal beliefs or sympathies of their editors. Finally, circulation size and form of ownership no doubt influenced both the way in which suffrage was covered and the position a newspaper might take in its editorial pages.[16]

Wisconsin suffragists seemed to only partially realize the significance of this balkanization of the general press, and if they did recognize it, were able to address it only in a limited way. One way in which they did differentiate newspapers was by the size of their circulation and their location in rural or urban communities. Thus Youmans and Benedict initially tailored the press campaign to the size of the community. The "country" newspapers -- smalltown newspapers that usually had a circulation of under a thousand, had a tiny staff, and were often weeklies -- were always hard up for copy and could probably be counted on to print the articles and columns submitted by the PEL. The daily newspapers in the larger towns and cities, on the other hand, had large staffs and were already deluged by submissions from free-lance writers, reform groups, corporations, and press agents. These would require a more competitive approach. Here, press releases would be used more as a lure to convince the editors that a particular event, such as the appearance of prominent speakers or the staging of a stunt, was "newsworthy" and deserving of coverage. Such events included appearances by crowd pleasers such as British suffragettes Sylvia and Emmeline Pankhurst, New York millionaire Mrs. Alva Belmont, and Hull House founder Jane Adams, who came to the state, packing the auditoriums with admirers and curiosity-seekers -- as well as with reporters. The stunts introduced by Benedict and

McCulloch also succeeded in winning front-page press attention, at least as long as they were "new and original" in the journalistic sense. The PEL scored a real front-page coup when it succeeded in enlisting "Buffalo Bill" Cody, that self-made media event and expert in press propaganda, to carry a suffrage banner in his Wild West show in Green Bay in August 1912.[17]

The press committee also recognized the need to provide material to the state's large ethnic populations, many of whom were unable or unwilling to read English and who used publications in their native language as a primary source of information and socialization. There were eighty-eight foreign-language publications in the state, including dailies, weeklies, and monthlies. They were published in German, Polish, Bohemian, Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch and claimed a combined circulation of more than 740,000. Youmans and James quickly realized that unless these newspapers and periodicals were able to translate the suffrage articles and press releases, their message would be lost on this population of voters and potential recruits. To meet this need, the PEL enlisted a number of suffragists to translate and place articles in the foreign-language press.[18]

Of this group, the strongest personality, perhaps, was Oshkosh suffragist Sophie Gudden. Gudden was a native of Bavaria, where her father had been a court physician to King Ludwig. In Oshkosh, she was married to physician B.C. Gudden and occupied a solid position in that city's society. She spoke on suffrage in German, wrote a suffrage column for the Oshkosh Northwestern for several years, sent articles to German- and English-language newspapers in the northeastern part of the state, and kept up a constant barrage on those editors she believed to be opposed to the reform. In her dealings with the German community and its press, Gudden alternated a down-to-earth pragmatism with a somewhat patrician attitude that often despaired of ever converting "these ignorant, hard-headed Germans."[19]

Another recruit was May Olszewska-Kryshak, who edited the women's and children's columns of the Nowiny Polskie, a daily and weekly Polish-language publication in Milwaukee. Olszewska-Kryshak, who was also an officer of the Milwaukee Educational and Industrial branch of the Polish Woman's Alliance, joined the PEL in April immediately after its founding and volunteered for the press committee. She was a bit more hopeful about recruiting the Poles to suffrage than Gudden was about the Germans, and saw the press as a crucial tool to this end. "I think that you could have a large support from us, especially so, because there are so many of us in this state," she wrote James, "and as you say, we must write upon the subject very often for the reason, that the majority do not fully understand, what suffrage for women really means."[20]

Gudden and Olszewska-Kryshak were exemplars of the women on whom Youmans and the press committee depended. Starting from a membership of fewer than thirty women in the winter of 1911, the PEL was able to build up organizations in twenty-six of the state's seventy-two counties by spring 1912.[21] Some of these organizations consisted of only a few members and a county chairman or local league president who frequently doubled as press chairman. The press chairmen were occasionally professional newspaperwomen like Olszewska-Kryshak of the Nowiny Polskie who could successfully combine their role as suffrage publicist with their professional position. Others, like Meta Berger, the wife of the Socialist editor of the Milwaukee Leader, Mrs. Richard Lloyd Jones, the wife of the Progressive editor of the Wisconsin State Journal, and Mrs. Ernst J. Greveris, wife of the editor of the Berlin Courant, had a somewhat more tenuous connection to the news business, but held prominent and influential positions in the community because of those connection.[22]

These women served as two-way conduits for information between the state's communities and the league's headquarters. They were the "eyes and ears" of the movement, in a manner of speaking, for they provided headquarters with material on local events and clippings from local newspapers that bore in any way on the suffrage question. They also served as a "voice" for the movement, for they suggested articles to the local press, wrote letters to the editor, complained when press coverage was unsatisfactory, and generally kept the pressure on local editors.

Complaints were often delivered in person, and when they could, press chairmen went straight to the errant editor. Thus, when a Green Bay newspaper published an anti-feminist cartoon, local organizer Maud McCreery took him to task.

> I went to see him about it and learned that he favored our cause and did not look further ahead than the joke in the picture and did not realize how hard it is for us to overcome ridicule and promised me that it would not happen again. His columns are now open to me for any thing [*sic*] I care to send him. I shall avail myself of that very often during the next year.[23]

At headquarters, Benedict and James kept up a running correspondence with the state's editors, basing their letters on reports they received from the various county committees and the articles gathered by the clipping agency. This correspondence ranged from straightforward requests to run a suffrage column or suffrage articles to gentle nudges concerning the placement of articles. "It would be impossible to overemphasize the importance of the press in this moment for woman suffrage," Benedict wrote the editor of the Minocqua Times in the summer of 1912. "I hope you are helping us all you can." Along with her letter, she included "a few of the most intelligent discussions of the subject" and asked for "a few strong editorials" to strengthen the suffrage case in Oneida County. Even pro-suffrage publications occasionally received gentle reminders if the quality of their coverage began to slip. The Socialist Milwaukee Leader received such a nudge in July 1912: "Your 'Votes For Women' column started out bravely, but it has descended into this very fine print affair which is usually tucked off on the women's page," Benedict wrote. "Won't you reinstate it in regular type and put it in a better place? We need your help and are counting on it." [24]

Through the network of press chairmen and their sporadic arrangements with clipping services, James, Benedict, and Youmans kept well abreast of everything published across the state. When stories did not present suffrage fairly or were not to their liking, they did not hesitate to fire off rebuttals. These complaints often were printed in the letters-to-the editor column but in cases where a major story was critical of or damaging to the movement, Youmans could respond with a specific edition of the Press Bulletin. When the Milwaukee papers ran front-page stories reporting a prominent Catholic archbishop's opposition to suffrage, for example, the Bulletin responded the next day with an article reporting the opinions of pro-suffrage clerics.[25]

Wisconsin suffragists also used the press as a way of measuring public opinion, either accepting or promoting the idea that the press *represented* public opinion. Several attempts were made to poll editorial support by both the PEL and the WWSA, and in August 1912 the Wisconsin Citizen reported that in a poll of Wisconsin editors, "a large portion of them believes in votes for women." The article failed to say how many editors had been surveyed and how many responded, but it did print the responses of nineteen papers, most of them country newspapers. "I believe in it because it is right," wrote at least three editors, including D.J. Hotchkiss of the Fox Lake Representative, Fred l. Berner of the Antigo Daily Journal, and J.E. Rockhill of the Blue River Informer.[26]

In addition to recording editorial support through polls, suffrage organizers attempted to get editors to speak for the reform. Richard Lloyd-Jones of the Wisconsin State Journal offered his services on several occasions and even accompanied Judd and McCulloch on some of their open-air excursions. Charles Hallinan of the Chicago Evening Post agreed to speak for suffrage during a visit in late spring 1912. On occasion, rather than tackling one editor at a time, the PEL attempted to take on the profession as a whole. When a National Newspaper Conference was held at the University of Wisconsin in Madison during the summer of 1912, for example, James wrote the men on the program asking them if they would be willing to speak on suffrage during their stay in Wisconsin and got at least one positive response.[27]

In addition to these infrequent but very public displays of editorial support, about half the state's newspapers supported suffrage and most ran suffrage articles and letters on a fairly frequent basis, James reported. The PEL president was not satisfied with these numbers, however. She and Benedict found that a majority of the newspapers did not run regular suffrage columns and that many were refusing to print the material they received in the Bulletin that was clearly publicity. While many of them were willing to publish news, some of them refused to "take anything in the line of propaganda," James wrote a sister suffrage worker.[28]

As the referendum neared, letters went out to all the state's newspapers asking them to consider issuing a special suffrage edition. Some newspapers, including the anti-suffrage Milwaukee Free Press, had already run suffrage sections, and agreed to do so again. The Free Press ran a page, "Should Women Have the Ballot?" in its Sunday morning editions on several occasions during the summer and fall before the election, starting with a first-page spread in its June 9 Sunday magazine, and publishing the page on three consecutive Sundays between October 6 and October 20. These "suffrage pages" considered the question in its banner and presented articles by suffragists like Belle Case La Follette, the wife of the Progressive Wisconsin senator, as well as anti-suffragists like Mrs. William Forse Scott of New York. Only the Wisconsin State Journal and the Portage Daily Register agreed to the full edition.[29]

The Wisconsin State Journal edition was produced and edited entirely by the Dane County Equal Suffrage League under the leadership of Mrs. Alice H. Bleyer, wife of the director of the Journalism Program at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. In calling for assistance for the edition that was to appear Nov. 1, 1912, Bleyer showed some of the journalistic common sense she must have learned from years of association with her husband. "Let me know, please, if you have any great ideas on our paper -- people who can contribute valuable copy, or who might give us an interesting interview or signed statement -- above all, anything funny," she wrote Benedict in a call for suggestions. "We must entertain and interest the man in the street as well as the 'highbrow,'" Bleyer recognized that because of its location in the state's capitol the Madison newspaper might be tremendously effective during a campaign for legislative approval, but that phase of the campaign had already passed. Now the suffrage message had to move out into the state to reach the voter and the State Journal provided only a limited vehicle with its small circulation of 6,149. Hoping to stretch the newspaper's circulation to reach other communities and other readers in the state, Bleyer enlisted the aid of the suffrage network. "Help me, if you will, with the names and addresses of such suffrage organizations throughout the state as may want to order and sell copies of our 'issue,'" she wrote Benedict. "As late in the campaign as this, I care less for the money... than for the influence that the paper may exert if placed in the hands of voters. I should like to see it circulated beyond Madison merely as propagandist material."[30]

The Portage Daily Register (circulation 1,000) also published a suffrage edition the week before the election. The editor of the special edition, Zona Gale, was a newspaperwoman who had worked in both New York and Milwaukee and knew the necessity of boosting the Register's circulation for this edition. Backed by funds from the county organization and donors, Gale devised a scheme to have the suffrage edition delivered to all the homes in the city (population 5,440) and mailed to non-subscribers throughout the county (population 31,129). The edition included articles, suffrage arguments, and endorsements from some forty area businessmen and represented the high point of suffragists' recruiting and publicity efforts in Columbia County.[31]

The effort exerted by the PEL during its nineteen-month campaign was extraordinary in both its scope and intensity, yet the suffrage referendum was defeated by nearly a 2-1 vote. Following the defeat the Wisconsin suffragists never quite succeeded in organizing to the same extent, even though they were to be lead by

Theodora Youmans, who had proven her considerable skills in organization. The rival suffrage organizations mended their differences and reunited under a new slate of officers. They chose Theodora Youmans, who had directed the referendum press campaign, as president. Youmans put her priority on educating the general public so that when a referendum came up again, there would be no defeat. In this new campaign to educate the public, Youmans downplayed the type of publicity-oriented activities that Benedict had promoted in the previous campaign. "This campaign which we plan is not to be noisy or sensational," she announced. "It is to be quiet and educational."[32]

This apparent about-face in suffrage strategies brought about some consternation among those suffragists who had just been working to produce as much publicity as possible. Partly as a result of this confusion and partly as a result of the general discouragement and upheaval that had accompanied the November defeat and the subsequent re-organization of the state association, the closely knit network of press committees quickly unravelled. Many of the county committees, some of which had formed only in the last months of the 1912 campaign, simply dissolved. A handful continued their efforts to provide news to their local editors, but the intense activity and sense of urgency that had characterized the earlier campaign had dissipated. In the early months of 1913 while suffragists lobbied the legislature once again for a suffrage referendum bill, there was a certain sense of deja vue. The legislature passed the bill once again, but this time it was the governor to block it. Francis McGovern argued that it was too soon to submit the bill to the votes and that doing so would be an affront to the spirit of democracy embodied in the referendum. Suffragists, however, did not buy his argument and responded with outrage. After the intense frustration following the veto, a general sense of disappointment and dejection filtered into all levels of the association. Members and committee chairmen alike eventually came to feel that nothing was happening.[33]

A typical response from the county press chairmen at this time came from Elizabeth Corbett, an editor for *National Home* and press chairman for Milwaukee County. Toward the end of 1913 she confessed to not having been as active in the past year as she would have liked. She reported to WWSA executive secretary Alice Curtis that the sum of her activities had been clipping articles and responding to unfavorable letters and editorials.

> To do more aggressive press work, we need a more active organization behind us. Personally, I don't believe there is any value in argument and propaganda labelled 'WOMAN SUFFRAGE' an inch high. Items of news interest and printed as news are what get read; and they've been falsely scarce except when something like Mrs. Pankhurst's exploits get telegraphed in.[34]

Youmans was writing her column in the Waukesha *Freeman*, publishing her "President's Letters" in the *Wisconsin Citizen*, and sending out a weekly newsletter to one hundred state newspapers, but she was doing too much of the work herself and recognized the need to revamp WWSA press tactics and energize members to participate themselves. The NAWSA convention of 1913 provided some of the stimulus she hoped for and one of the national association's innovations in press work provided food for thought that eventually shaped her own approach to publicity. The national association had separated its press bureau into two separate divisions -- a publications bureau that would supply books, pamphlets, and long articles and a new press bureau, which was to provide basic facts and data to newspapers so that reporters might use that information as a source for stories they would write themselves. Youmans returned to Wisconsin determined to attempt a similar division of responsibilities in the WWSA and in early spring added a committee of literature and publications to the WWSA. She appointed Oshkosh suffragist Sophie Gudden to take her place as state press chairman to handle publicity, and positioned herself as chair of the new publications committee. [35]

This new approach was promoted in June 1914 at the WWSA suffrage school, which among other classes, offered one in "introducing suffrage news and propaganda into the daily and weekly press" taught by Youmans herself. Here Youmans showed her students how to secure space in newspapers for a regular suffrage column, how to choose appropriate subjects, and how to keep on the good side of editors so that they would continue to use their copy. This focus on press work was continued in the WWSA convention at the end of the year when the program devoted several presentations to the press including "Country Press Work," "Suffrage in the City Press," and the "Wisconsin Press and Suffrage." The convention also issued a general directive to every organization in the state that it should appoint a press chairman to send news of local suffrage events regularly to headquarters. [36]

The burden of implementing this ambitious plan fell on Sophie Gudden, who had been appointed chair of the state press committee in spring 1914, leaving to Youmans the other half of operations as chair of the new publications committee. A loyal worker who threw herself into anything she did whole-heartedly, Gudden set out to get the press committees up and running. In an attempt to set up her office as a clearinghouse for suffrage news, much as Youmans and Benedict had done in the earlier campaign, she sent a circular to local committee chairmen asking them to send her any suffrage news from their districts on a regular basis as well as reports of weekly work "at least once a month." She soon learned that despite the brave new plan to tighten up the activities of the committees and the ambitious and inspiring workshops, the press network was a shambles. The few still-functioning chairmen who responded to her letter seemed to misunderstand her request. Rather than sending her news items, they simply reported how many items they had placed in their county papers. Worse yet, some answered with "the curt information that chairmen had changed, or moved," and many did not respond at all. In the following months, few, if any, sent her suffrage news or monthly reports.[37]

The disintegration of the press committee system was evident in Gudden's difficulty in keeping up her job of supplying the Oshkosh and Milwaukee papers with suffrage news. Here she suffered the same dearth of news as reported earlier by Corbett, but for awhile she was carried along by sheer force of will. Putting together the lean snippets of news garnered from her few correspondents around the state along with warmed-over stories from the Wisconsin Citizen and the Woman's Journal, Gudden managed to come up with articles for the Milwaukee papers. She succeeded in placing articles on a regular basis in the Evening Wisconsin, which she described as "friendly," as well as the Free Press, whose editor, H.P. Myrick, had warmed toward her somewhat since the referendum. She had made a definite breakthrough with the German-language papers when she succeeded in placing a weekly column with the Sonntagspost, the Sunday edition of the Germania-Abendpost and the Herold, which had a circulation of more than 43,000. The Milwaukee Journal, on the other hand, printed her material, but only after the managing editor, whom she accused of being an "anti," had taken out "all red corpuscles... suffragettes written instead of suffragists and so on." [38]

But the well was drying up and despite her ingenuity, it was harder and harder for Gudden to come up with legitimate articles that satisfied Youmans' new definition of "news" and that would interest the newspapers. She began to turn out long suffrage arguments rather than the newsy items the newspapers and Youmans wanted. A direct result was that the Free Press cut back on the material it would accept from her, and restricted her to a single column just once a week.[39]

Gudden and the remaining press committee chairmen were in a paradoxical situation. There was little or no "news" to write about, but they continued to believe they must publish in newspapers to keep the suffrage cause in the public eye. While they were quite content to write opinion pieces debating the pros and cons of suffrage and responding to anti-suffrage claims, newspapers were no longer interested in printing this material for free except occasionally on the editorial page. Finally, the WWSA was no longer promoting the high-visibility publicity stunts that had the best chance of arousing immediate public and press interest, but was quietly pursuing a "quiet" educational campaign, the kind that rarely interested the press.[40]

To fill the void, the WWSA began to consider buying ready-made plate material on suffrage by the page to distribute to county newspapers. This material would provide suffrage news from around the country while allowing the option of including local news when it existed, and had the distinct advantage to editors of being ready to print. If the WWSA were to provide plate matter to the state's newspapers, especially the county weeklies that were most likely to use it, they would be lightening their own load while at the same time making it easier and perhaps more likely for editors to accept their material. A half dozen counties initially agreed to the plan, but it was put on hold until they could decide how to fund it. Here Gudden balked. Although ready-made material would relieve her of the necessity of creating news stories out of whole cloth, she still believed the WWSA should provide its own articles about state activities.[41]

When she took on the role of state press chairman, Gudden had adopted Benedict's position that the general press should be employed not only to report suffrage news but to act as a megaphone for the suffrage position. Her style was less subtle than Benedict's, however, and where the New York lawyer had wooed editors, the German-born suffragist clashed with them head-on. In the spring of 1915, Gudden's rocky road with the Milwaukee editors came to an impasse. Harry Pierce Myrick, with whom she had reached a cautious understanding, left the Free Press and was replaced by Ernst Kronshage. The new editor immediately cut the amount of space to be granted the WWSA, telling Gudden that the paper "did not care for editorial debates" and would "discontinue the column" unless she confined herself to news. When Gudden almost immediately used her entire weekly allotment to respond to charges made in a series of Free Press articles by anti-suffragist Mabel Dodge, Kronshage refused to run it and then refused to run further of her articles. Alarmed at losing their "foothold" in the Free Press, Gudden wrote Milwaukee press chairman Elizabeth Corbett asking her to intervene. When Corbett met with Kronshage, she learned that he had warned Gudden before and that he found her stories not "newsy enough" and thought that she got most of them from "some suffrage paper." Attempting to break this gently to the veteran suffragist, whom she believed should be replaced by someone younger and more adept at cooperating with editors, Corbett supported many of Kronshage's points.[42]

Gudden's response to Corbett illustrated her firm belief in the need to use the press for propaganda. It also showed how far apart the two women were in their ideas of the role of the press committee:

> I do not agree with your point of view. The suffrage column is of little propaganda value to our association if reduced to the reporters' level of mere news, without being allowed to briefly reply to long articles appearing in the SAME paper against us, or to make comments on current events.[43]

It was clear to everyone involved that Gudden would not budge, and by the middle of the next month, Kronshage wrote Youmans asking her to replace Gudden, adding that he would no longer accept the column as long as she was its author. In the meantime Corbett had written Youmans suggesting that Youmans herself was the best qualified person to take over the job of state press chairman and Gudden wrote Youmans that she would "appreciate the rest" if someone else took over the job. Gudden was gradually eased from her job as state press chairman, though she retained the title of chairman of the German press committee, and Youmans once again took on the job of state press chairman.[44]

With the executive and press functions of the WWSA consolidated under Youmans' control, press relations went somewhat more smoothly than they had under Gudden. Recognizing the difficulty of getting the press to cover suffrage events in these lean years, finance committee chairman Harriet Bain suggested hiring a professional journalist to drum up publicity on the 1915 convention, but it is unclear if that proposal was followed through. In summer of 1916, Youmans formalized her publicity activities and started producing the weekly woman suffrage bulletin under the title "Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Press Service." The bulletin was mailed to about one hundred newspapers and was intended to supply the sort of facts and figures Youmans believed to be in such demand by the state's editors. In addition to supplying information about Wisconsin, the release frequently included NAWSA publicity, frequently quoting from the Woman's Journal or its successor, the Woman Citizen.[45]

Youmans also recommenced some of the personal correspondence that had characterized the more successful aspects of the previous campaign. She wrote to individual editors, inviting them to attend suffrage events like the appearance of Carrie Chapman Catt at the Congressional Conference in March 1916 and the women's peace parade in Chicago in June 1916, often suggesting that they send a woman reporter to cover the event. Here Youmans' personal charm and reputation in the newspaper community, especially among women journalists, came in handy.[46]

Youmans' letters were increasingly addressed to newspaper editors who took a positive stance on suffrage, praising them for their "splendid allegiance to the woman suffrage cause" and their appreciation of the "importance of the woman suffrage movement." [47] As time went by, and as the WWSA gingerly maneuvered its way through the difficult issues surrounding the war in Europe and America's entry into the conflict in 1917, WWSA publicity attempted to focus on the positive aspects of suffrage activities -- food drives, Red Cross training, liberty bond sales. It attempted to minimize the anti-Wilson tactics and pacifist positions of Alice Paul's Woman's Party, but was fighting a losing battle here, for stories about suffragists chaining themselves to the White House gates and being carted off to jail were irresistible to editors.[48]

The negative press resulting in Paul's publicity stunts was short-lived, however, and echoing the shift in both the White House and the Congress, the state's newspapers slowly came around to accepting the arguments for suffrage. By 1919, many of them, including the Milwaukee Journal, the Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin, and the Oshkosh Northwestern had endorsed the reform.[49] Youmans believed a great part of this change was due to her incessant efforts to publicize the cause and to coax newspapers into considering the news she provided them. When the federal suffrage amendment was ratified by the state legislature in 1919, one of the first things she did was write the various newspapers in the state to thank them for their support:

> The great "change" in public sentiment which made possible this action by the legislature is due in very large degree to the helpful co-operation of the press in Wisconsin... Without your help we should never have been able to achieve our present splendid victory.[50]

Certainly Youmans and her sister suffragists, from Olympia Brown to Sophie Gudden, had not always found the press quite so helpful. They had frequently wrestled mightily with it to win a fair representation of their ideas and goals and had resorted to cajolery, manipulation, and compromise to achieve their end. But despite the frequent disappointments, they had maintained their fundamental belief in the power of the press to bring about great changes in public sentiment. Whether or not the press actually brought about that change, the belief that it did rings loud and clear in Youmans' gracious letter of acknowledgement.

NOTES

1.Josephine Kulzick to James, April 1, 1911, Ada Lois James Papers, box 5, folder 2, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Archives and Manuscripts Collections, Madison, Wisconsin.

2.Crystal Eastman Benedict to Mr. D.A. Christensen, July 12, 1912, James Papers, reel 3, document 105.

3.Here the term "general circulation press" is used to indicate those newspapers or magazines that were sold to a general, undifferentiated public.

4. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature records that the number of articles on woman suffrage increased from thirty-nine during the period 1900-1904 to 268 during the period 1910-1914. These articles expressed suffrage as well as anti-suffrage arguments; many attempted to evaluate the effect of women's votes in the suffrage states.

5. Olympia Brown, "To Timid Friends," Wisconsin Citizen, February 1888.

6. Olympia Brown, "Bad Journalists," Wisconsin Citizen, May 1901. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), 244-246.

7. Marion Tuttle Marzolf,Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1900 (New York: Longman, 1991), 12.

8. Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, Voices of a Nation (New York: MacMillan, 1989), 379-81; Emery, Press in America, 348-49; Scott M. Cutlip et al., Effective Public Relations, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 26-40; "Free Publicity," American Newspaper Publishers Association, Bulletin No. 2387, March 11, 1911, New York World Papers, box 1911, folder March 1-15, Butler Library Archives, Columbia University, New York.

9.James to Members of the Executive board, May 27, 1911, James Papers, box 5, folder 3.

10.Undated report, James Papers, reel 4, document 1074.

11.James to "Dear Editor," June 15, 1911, James Papers, box 5, folder 4; "Wisconsin," Woman's Journal, July 15, 1911; William P. Welch to James, June 16, 1911, James Papers, box 5, folder 4.

12.Youmans to James, [July 1911], James Papers, box 6, folder 1.

13.Judd to James, July 11, 1911, James Papers, box 6, folder 1; "Suffragists Win Converts in Auto Trip," Milwaukee Journal. July 11, 1912; "Women of Wisconsin Have Their Way at the State Fair," Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 13, 1911; "Suffragettes Open Meeting in Racine," Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 29, 1911.

14."Wisconsin Notes," Woman's Journal, Oct. 7, 1911; Theodora Youmans, "Press Work in Wisconsin," the Woman's Journal, Sept. 14, 1912; Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot." Wisconsin Magazine of History 5 (1921): 21.

15.Genevieve McBride, "'Echo the Glad Sound:' Origins of Public Relations in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth- Century Reform," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1989, 266; Lawrence L. Graves, "The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Movement, 1846-1920," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1954. 132, 144.

16.Of the 548 Wisconsin newspapers that declared their political affiliation in 1912, 318 were Republican, 105 were Democrat, and 125 Independent. Wisconsin Blue Book: 1913, (Madison: State of Wisconsin Publishing Company, 1913), 1397.

17.Folkerts, 237-38; McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 265-57; "Miss Todd to Speak at Street Meetings," Milwaukee Journal, Aug. 16, 1911; "Talks on Equal Suffrage," Milwaukee Journal, Aug. 17, 1911; "In Wild West Show," Press Bulletin, Aug. 10, 1912, WWSA papers, box 26, folder 3. In their classic text on public relations, Cutlip and his colleagues point out that the "aim of press-agentry is more to attract public attention than to build understanding." Cutlip et al, Effective Public Relations, 12.

18.N.W. Ayer, Ayer's Directory: 1912 (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Sons, 1912), 990-1021. The majority of these publications (seventy) were in German, with a circulation of 648,577. For discussion of the foreign-language press, see Lauren Kessler, "The Immigrant Press," chap. in The Dissident Press, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984); James M. Berquist, "The German American Press," in The Ethnic Press in the United States, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 139-140, 145.

19.McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 261; Gudden to James, January 1912, James Papers, box 7, folder 3; Gudden to Benedict, April 18, 1912, James Papers, box 9, folder 1. Meta Steinfort and Mrs. Sophie Mueller of Milwaukee were also enlisted to translate from the German papers. Benedict to Steinfort, April 23, 1912, James Papers, box 9, folder 3; Mueller to Benedict, undated, James Papers, box 9, folder 3.

20. M. Olszewska-Kryshak to James, April 27, 1911, James Papers, box 9, folder 4. The PEL also recruited a Mrs. Nelson to translate articles for the Norwegian papers, which represented about 62,000

residents in the state. James to Mrs. La Follette, April 19, 1912, James Papers, box 9, folder 2.

21."Wisconsin Active Along Many Lines, Woman's Journal, May 4, 1912

22. Gudden recruited Mrs. Greveris after her husband was unable to take the job. Gudden to James, June 27, 1912, James Papers, Box 11, folder 6. Several newspaperwomen, including Lucy Strong, Rosa M. Perdue of the Milwaukee Journal, Elizabeth Corbett, of National Home, and Mabel V. Hansen, publisher of the Hartland (Wisconsin) News, were members of the PEL and frequently covered suffrage events or attempted to get suffrage material into their papers. James to Strong, May 6, 1912, James Papers, box 9, folder 5; Perdue to James, April 1912, James Papers, box 9, folder 4; Corbett to Myrtle Baer, March 22, 1912, James Papers, box 8, folder 2.

23.Maud McCreey to James, Jan. 1, 1912, James Papers, box 7, folder 1. The cartoon had depicted a "woman in court telling the judge that she could not do jury service that day cause [*sic*] she had an important bridge engagement."

24.Benedict to Mr. D.A. Christianson, July 12, 1912, James Papers, reel 3, document 105; Benedict to Gordon Nye, July 24, 1912, James Papers, reel 3, document 318.

25."Wisconsin Active Along Many Lines," Woman's Journal, May 4, 1912.

26."Among the Wisconsin Editors," Wisconsin Citizen, August 1912.

27.Jones to Benedict, March 21, 1912, James Papers, box 8, folder 2; Jones to James, May 31, 1912, James Papers, box 10, folder 4; "Dane County Suffrage Society," Wisconsin Citizen, Dec. 1911; Hallinan to Gwendolin B. Willis, May 20, 1912; Hamilton Holt, managing editor of the Independent, responded in the affirmative. Holt to Benedict, June 24, 1912, James Papers, box 11, folder 5. Other editors invited to the conference were Melville Stone, Manager of the Associated Press, Will Irwin of Collier's, and Norman Hapgood, editor of Collier's Weekly. The conference program addressed some issues of significance to reform organizations, including "The Mission of the Newspaper in the Society of Today," "How is News Service Affected by the Non-Journalistic Interests of the Owner?" and "If the Newspaper is to Play Its Due Part in Social Advance, Can It be Run Simply as a business Proposition?"

28.James to Mrs. George Bass, Aug. 16, 1912, James Papers, reel 3, document 945.

29.Belle C. LaFollette, "Wisconsin Women Ready for Ballot Says Senator's Wife," Milwaukee Free Press, Oct. 6, 1912; Mrs. William Force Scott, "Ballot Would not Give Women Greater Power in the Legislature," Milwaukee Free Press, Oct. 20, 1912.

30.Alice H. Bleyer to Benedict, Oct. 7, 1912, box 15, file 6; N.W. Ayer, Ayers Annual Directory, 1912, 1004.

31.Susan Miller Quackenbush to Benedict, Oct. 25, 1912, James Papers, box 16, folder 6.

32.Youmans, "Suffrage Department," Waukesha Freeman, July 13, 1913; McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 299-301.

33.Gudden to Youmans, Jan. 8, 1913, WWSA Papers, box 2, folder 2; Gudden to the County Press Chairman, Nov. 15, 1913, WWSA Papers, box 2, folder 4.

34.Corbett to Curtis, Oct. 24, 1913, WWSA Papers, box 2, folder 3.

35.McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 303, 306, 309.

36."Suffrage School," Wisconsin Citizen, June 1914; "Suffrage School," Wisconsin Citizen, July 1914; "The Annual Roundup," Wisconsin Citizen, December 1914.

37.McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 309; Gudden to Youmans, Jan. 8, 1913, WWSA Papers, box 2, folder 2; Gudden to the County Press Chairman, Nov. 15, 1913, WWSA Papers, box 2, folder 4; Gudden to Youmans, Feb 17, 1914, WWSA Papers, box 3, folder 2.

38.Gudden to Youmans, Feb 17, 1914, WWSA Papers, box 3, folder 2; Gudden to Youmans, June 9, 1914, WWSA Papers, box 4, folder 2..

39.Gudden to Youmans, June 9, 1914, WWSA Papers, box 4, folder 2.

40.The editor of the Milwaukee Free Press, E.H. Kronshage, made it clear to Gudden that he only wanted news items and would not consider publishing opinions or arguments in her column. For this, he said, she would have to resort to letters to the editor and take her chances of getting published. E.H. Kronshage to Youmans, April 15, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 7, folder 2.

41.Gudden to Miss Byrns, Sept 10, 1914, WWSA Papers, box 6, folder 1; "Report to Annual Convention," November 1914, WWSA Papers, box 6, folder 2.

42.Gudden to Corbett, March 23, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 6, folder 4; Corbett to Gudden, March 29, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 6, folder 4; Corbett to Youmans, March 29, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 6, folder 4. Myrick was one of the original founders of the Free Press. He left his post apparently because of illness and died a year later. Wisconsin Dictionary of Biography, 263.

43.Gudden to Corbett, April 21, 1915, WWSA, box 7, folder 2.

44.Kronshage to Youmans, April 15, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 7, folder 2; Corbett to Youmans, March 29, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 6 folder 4; Gudden to Youmans, April 12, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 7, folder 2. After the United States entered the war against Germany and the WWSA switched from its pacifist to its supportive stand, Gudden resigned from the association. Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 286.

45.Bain to Youmans, Nov. 8, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 8, folder 8; McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 340.

46.Youmans to C.F. Rex, The _Reporter_, Dec. 27, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 11, folder 4; Youmans to Gladys Stowe, Racine _Times-Call_, March 15, 1916, WWSA Papers, box 3, folder 9; Youmans to Emma Comstock, _Wisconsin State Journal_, May 30, 1916, WWSA Papers, box 9, folder 5; Strong to "Dear Dora" (Youmans), July 14, 1916, WWSA Papers, box 10, folder 2.In July 1916; Youmans to Dear Editor, Dec. 23, 1916, WWSA Papers, box 11, folder 4.

47.Youmans to Robert M. Crawford, editor _Iowa County Democrat_, Sept. 20, 1916, WWSA Papers, box 11, folder 1; Youmans to Editor (Stevens Point) _Gazette_, April 18, 1916, WWSA Papers, box 9, folder 5.

48.McBride, "Echo the Glad Sound," 360-363.

49._Press Service Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association_, Release June 2, 1918, WWSA Papers, box 26, folder 3. The Milwaukee _Free Press_ never did endorse suffrage, for it suspended publication in December 1918.

50.Youmans to the Editor, June 17, 1919, WWSA Papers, box 22, folder 1.

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WOMEN IN THE NEWS:
A LOOK AT THE PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN IN NEWS MAGAZINES FROM 1945 TO 1963

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Abstract

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In 1945, the boys came home from the war, and Rosie the riveter was told to hang up her overalls and don her kitchen apron to make room for them. Eighteen years later, Betty Friedan wrote *The Feminine Mystique*, and spoke for a whole generation of women. She shattered the image that women's magazines had worked to create of woman as child-like, dependent, and uninterested in anything outside of her domestic sphere. According to Friedan, after World War II, the American woman had been sold the idea that she could only achieve fulfillment as a woman through marriage and motherhood. When she did not realize fulfillment, she was made to believe there was something wrong with her.

Friedan criticized the women's magazines for creating a role for women, a feminine mystique, they could not possibly live up to. But women's magazines were not the only ones doing the selling. From 1945 to 1963, the period studied, the news magazines *Time* and *Newsweek* reinforced the feminine mystique through their emphasis on marriage and the family and, in so doing, contributed to the social conditioning of American women.

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In 1945, the boys came home from the war, and Rosie the riveter was told to hang up her overalls and don her kitchen apron to make room for them. Just as women had been told during the war that it was their patriotic duty to join the workforce, they were now told that their rightful place was in the home. According to Betty Friedan, in *The Feminine Mystique*, after World War II, the mass media sold the American woman the idea that she could only achieve fulfillment as a woman through marriage and motherhood. When a woman did not realize fulfillment, when she felt dissatisfaction or frustration, she was made to believe there was something wrong with her. Friedan's work, published in 1963, touched a raw nerve in American women. She criticized educators, sociologists, and the editors of women's magazines for creating a role for women, a feminine "mystique," that they could not possibly live up to. According to Friedan, the mass media presented women as child-like and dependent upon their husbands. In fact, she said, women's only identity came from their position as wives. As mothers, they were expected to be strong, nurturing individuals and the moral center of the family. Although Friedan points blame at the mass media as a whole, she concentrates her examination of the feminine mystique on women's magazines. Her research showed that women's magazines presented all issues in relation to the home, marriage, and children. Women had no interest, it was presumed by the editors, in anything not directly involved with those aspects of their femininity. Even women who accomplished things outside the sphere of the home were presented in these magazines as wives and mothers first and foremost. It was in these roles that they made their most significant contributions to society.

This study examines how the two major American news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, reported on women's issues and presented women from 1945, the year women were encouraged to return to the home, to 1963, the year Friedan's work, which was the catalyst for the second wave of feminism, was published. The question is whether *Time* and *Newsweek* reinforced the feminine mystique in their presentation of women during this time period. When the term "women" is used in this paper, it refers primarily to middle-class American women since they were the ones who had the financial option of staying home. Lower-class women always worked out of necessity. For organizational purposes, the paper has been divided into five areas: women in politics, women in business, women in education, women and marriage, and women who threatened the system. The first two sections contain examples of "exceptional women." The sections on women in education and women and marriage look at how the ordinary middle-class women were presented. The final section deals with those women who, while not necessarily classifying themselves as feminists, tried to advance the cause of women in society or who acted outside the feminine norm.

The image of women remains consistent throughout the time period examined, with only subtle variations. Women in politics and business exhibited "masculine" characteristics, such as a tough mind and an iron will. Marriage was stressed as the norm for all women from 1945 to 1963. Similarly, the theme that feminism was a dead issue recurred throughout. Dissatisfaction on the part of married women was attributed first to psychological problems, then to the failure of the educational system to prepare women for marriage, and finally to the immaturity of the women themselves.

WOMEN IN POLITICS

After women achieved the vote in 1920, individual women made steady inroads into the political sphere. Yet, in 1945, women in political positions of power were still a novelty. Articles on women in traditionally male roles of elected power tended not to take women or their abilities seriously. When the mayor of Kirkland Lake in Ontario, Canada, attended the U.S. Conference of Mayors in New York City, she was told by the doorman, as she tried to enter a waiting car, that the cars were for the mayors. According to *Time*, she replied: "'I'm no lady. I'm a mayor.'" Anne Shipley was the only woman delegate at the Conference. The article describes her as "well-informed and judiciously profane." The next paragraph has her shopping for a dinner dress but finding only "impossible size 16s." The same sense of undercutting was present three years later in a *Newsweek* article titled "Women, Women, Women!" A village of 800 in Michigan had elected, "slightly tongue in cheek," six women to its council.[1]

Other women appointed to high government positions were treated in accordance with their abilities. When President Truman appointed Frieda Hennock to the Federal Communications Commission, an article ran in *Time* without editorial comment. Ms. Hennock had been a Manhattan corporate lawyer, and the youngest woman ever admitted to the New York bar. Margaret Chase Smith, who was described as a "pert little lady" with a "man-sized will," was another political woman. An article in *Newsweek* in 1950, quoted her as saying that the party nominating a woman for vice president would win the 1952 election. The article reviewed the women the Truman administration had advanced up the political ladder and concluded that the climate created by these women in Congress had led to a greater acceptance of the idea of a woman vice president. The suggestion that women should lobby for a woman president had been put forward two years earlier by the president of the Women's Club of America, but the idea had been squelched by the former president of the General

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[1] "Her Honor the Reeve," *Time*, December 24, 1945, p. 42. "Women, Women, Women!" *Newsweek*, March 22, 1948, p. 30. Portland, Oregon, also elected a woman mayor in 1948. See "Madame Mayor," *Time*, May 31, 1948, p. 31.

Federation of Women's Clubs on the basis that: "Women voters would not support a woman. . . . Women don't like to see other women get ahead."[2]

Women might not have liked it, but some women did get ahead. In 1951, the Secretary of Defense, General George C. Marshall, named Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg Assistant Secretary of Defense in charge of manpower. She was profiled in a *Newsweek* article titled "The Woman—What a Woman!—Who Bosses the Men." The article praised Mrs. Rosenberg and her accomplishments in dealing with manpower problems. "She was by general agreement, the leading authority on the subject in the United States." Clare Boothe Luce was also treated by *Newsweek* with respect, but with not as much deference. She was described as "Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce—or more properly, Mrs. Henry R. Luce," in reference to her husband's power and his relationship to *Newsweek*'s competitor, *Time*. In reviewing her prior accomplishments, the 1955 article described her play *The Women* as being "still as bright as a new coat of nail polish." Clare Boothe Luce was a little frightening to men, "for Mrs. Luce, now 51, has become almost the archetype of that most rewarding, frightening, delightful, and uncomfortable of God's creatures—the lady with both beauty and brains, who knows how to use 'em." The article later referred to her personality as leaving "tartly flavored lipstick" on everything.[3]

The year 1955 saw women as the hot election issue for politicians gearing up for the 1956 presidential campaign. Potential women voters outnumbered men by two million, and polls showed that fewer women automatically voted in conformity with their husbands' views. Also, television was bringing politics into the home where women could be reached and influenced. *Newsweek* described the efforts of both

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[2] "The First," *Time*, June 7, 1948, p. 92. "The Lady from Maine," *Newsweek*, June 12, 1950, p. 24. "Americana," *Time*, March 8, 1948, p. 25.

[3] "The Woman—What a Woman!—Who bosses the Men," *Newsweek*, February 26, 1951, p. 20. "Madame Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce: Her Versatility," *Newsweek*, January 24, 1955, p. 28.

Democrats and Republicans to train campaign workers to reach their female constituency. The masterminds for women's strategy for both parties were two women who had, it was reported, much in common—both liked red hats and comfortable suits.[4]

The issue of women and politics came up again in a *Time* article in 1960. After reviewing the progress women had made in the political sphere since passage of the 19th Amendment, the article went on to state that "politicians of both sexes have had trouble adjusting to woman's place in politics, and the chemistry of sex has brought some change in political techniques." Barry Goldwater for one found it problematic to face a woman in politics. "They're very difficult to run against. . . . You have to be careful that in fighting her politically you don't get so hard on her that it creates sympathy for her," he said. Idaho's Gracie Pfost disagreed: "I don't think being a woman in politics is any different from being a man. After all, elections are based on the issues, and any capable woman can develop an understanding of the issues, can present them, and can win at the polls."[5]

The presentation of political women changed slightly from 1945 to 1963. The female politicians started out as somewhat of a novelty but ended up being treated with respect. The news magazines seemed to have accepted the presence of women in the political system during this time period. There is no question that the women elected or appointed were capable and intelligent women. It was difficult to undercut their achievements because they were exceptional women. They also worked within the system and posed no real threat to men. These political women made no effort, for the most part, to change society on behalf of women. Many of them would have attributed women's lack of success to women themselves and not to prejudices inherent in the political system itself.[6]

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[4] "Women in National Politics . . . Their Voting Edge Could Be Decisive in '56," *Newsweek*, February 9, 1955, p. 30.

[5] "As Maine Goes . . .," *Time*, September 5, 1960, p. 13.

WOMEN IN BUSINESS

Despite the growth of employment for women during the war, the traditionally male worlds of law, business, and government kept women out. After the war, women began to make slow but steady progress into these areas. According to a Women's Bureau survey of the women in the federal service from 1939 to 1959, women's employment in the federal government increased 233 percent. In 1959, four-fifths of the 576,000 women working for the federal government were in pink-collar positions.[7]

The news magazines reflected the movement of women into the business world. Individual women who had reached the top of the corporate ladder are depicted positively. Anita Colby, feminine director of Selznick Studios, was even on the cover of the January 8 issue of *Time* in 1945. According to the article, "the Face, who has a brain to match," had never married, although it was not because of a lack of looks, "nor [was] it for lack of more essential feminine qualifications," nor was it for lack of suitors. The concentration on Colby's traditionally feminine qualities suggests she was an anomaly. Good-looking women were not expected to be intelligent enough to handle such a corporate position, and all women were expected to be married. But, the thirty-year-old Colby was "perfectly happy" with her life the way it was. Fifth Avenue's First Lady,

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[6] For a discussion see Ginette Castro, *American Feminism: A Contemporary History*. trans. Elizabeth Loverde-Bagwell (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 56.

[7] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women in the Federal Service, 1939—1959* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962). Men's employment in Federal Service increased by 141 percent from 1939—1959. The percentage of female professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers, in the government service had changed little in the same twenty-year period.

Dorothy Shaver, was another example of an unmarried businesswoman in 1945. She had just been elected the first women president of the department store Lord & Taylor. She combined a "tough, masculine mind" with a "highly feminine, creative touch." According to the article, "as a career woman, Dorothy Shaver professes to believe that every woman should marry eventually. But she prefers to remain wedded to her work."[8] The message to women was that even Dorothy Shaver bowed to the standard for women that she herself chose not to obey. Shaver's only option was either a career or marriage, not both.

In 1945, Standard Oil Company broke an "antifeminine taboo" when it appointed two ex-stenographers to the executive posts of assistant secretary. "Brown-eyed, brown-haired Miss Muriel E. Reynolds, 42, and small (5 ft. 1 in.) Mrs. Margery M. Porter, also 42, who wears her brown hair in a feather cut" were the first women to become executive officers of Standard Oil. They had no secret formula for success, only ambition. Said Mrs. Porter, "It has been wonderful, though, to see the effect our appointment has had on other women of the company. It has given them all renewed hope. . . . It's a milestone for women in the conservative man's world."[9] It may have been a milestone, but the article was quick to point out that the positions carried no executive decision-making powers.

While not many women ended up at the top of the corporate ladder, many of them did become secretaries. The office worker was one of the positions that women took over during the war and which remained, thereafter, dominated by women. In 1945, Betty Oliver, a secretary, launched a small magazine titled *Business Girl.* By 1947, *Business Girl* had 40,000 subscribers. *Time* described the issues as looking "as cluttered as the inside of a stenographer's purse, but the stenographers seem to like it that way." Articles ran from success stories to advice on boyfriends. The magazine also contained an editor's memo printed in Betty Oliver's own shorthand. Through questionnaires, editor Oliver learned that her business girls "earn an average of $170 a month, that 71 percent of them chew gum, only 37 percent smoke, 63 percent are single and 95 percent think (wishfully or otherwise) that it is not a man's world."[10] The final statistic quoted is the most telling in terms of the extent to which women had been socialized to accept their role as entry-level workers, wives, and mothers.

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[8] "Cover Girl," *Time*, January 8, 1945, p. 39. "Fifth Avenue's First Lady," *Time*, December 31, 1945, p. 82. See also profiles on 30-year-old Martha Roundtree, radio's most successful woman producer, "Know-How Woman," *Time*, July 23, 1946, p. 54; 35-year-old Mary Howard, top radio recording engineer, "Perfectionist," *Time*, December 30, 1946, p. 83; and "Ad Woman of the Year," *Time*, June 22, 1958, p. 84. See also "Lady's Day," *Newsweek*, March 9, 1959, p. 96, woman appointed head of shipping company; and "From Aviatrix to Astronautrix ," *Time*, August 29, 1960, p. 41, first woman astronautrix "(measurements: 36-27-34)" selected.

[9] "Glamor for Standard," *Time*, October 8, 1945, p. 84.

Despite the belief of Oliver's secretaries that it was not a man's world, it was not until 1948 that the Prudential Insurance Co. of America, which "had steadfastly maintained that a married woman's place—except for wartime emergencies—was in the home," finally changed its policy on hiring married women. According to the article, Prudential's change of heart completed the rout of a "once-universal business principle" that married women should not take the place of a working man. "The First World War shook the taboo; the Second World War toppled it to the ground." The article quoted a 1939 survey that said 25 percent of businesses fired women who married. A 1948 survey showed that 10.8 percent of businesses had restrictions on hiring married women and only 5.6 percent still discharged them for marrying.[11] By suggesting that the business practice of not hiring married women had been "toppled to the ground," the article implies that women no longer faced discrimination, a fact not borne out by the statistics quoted.

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[10] "Just Among Us Girls," *Time,* September 1, 1947, p. 1.

[11] "Prudential and the Ladies," *Newsweek,* April 19, 1948, p. 68.

Although the 1950s is supposed to have been the decade when the American women stayed home, in 1956 there was a feeling of optimism about women in the workforce. A *Newsweek* article reported that "women have moved out of the home and abroad into the factories, offices, and board rooms of the U.S. business." Almost 20 million women were working in the U.S. in 1956, one million of those as "managers, officials, and proprietors."[12] Despite the success of women in business, *Newsweek* acknowledged that it was still a man's world. According to the article, only one-half of one percent of the women working received $5,000 a year or more, while 12 percent of the men were in that salary range. The people interviewed by *Newsweek* agreed that women failed to reach the top of the corporate ladder because of social and psychological barriers, combined with a lack of specialized training, due to the traditional differences in curricula for men and women in colleges and universities.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

The role of education in the lives of women went through a metamorphosis in the 1950s. In the 1920s and 1930s, the number of women's colleges grew, as did the enrollment. These colleges encouraged independent thinking and academic achievement. But, as housewives began to show marked symptoms of dissatisfaction in the 1950s, blame was laid on the education system. Women were not prepared for their responsibilities as wives and mothers, it was argued. In response, schools began to place new emphasis on family studies and home economics.

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[12] "American Women at Work," *Newsweek*, February 27, 1956, p. 77. According to the article, managers, officials, and proprietors were the closest thing to executives in the Department of Labor study from which the information was taken. In giving a cross-section of the jobs held by women, the article mentioned one woman who worked for an aviation company as its "chief vibration and flutter engineer." The article referred to the position as a "feminine-sounding but most masculine job."

A forerunner of the later trend to train women for their careers as wives was Stephen's College in Missouri where, in 1946, the male head of the school told *Time* he trained young women "in the arts and sciences of wifehood, motherhood, and homemaking. Even the college psychology, literature, and economic courses are, as he says, 'geared . . . to a homemaking objective.'" Dr. Wood said that 72 percent of all women marry, and he claimed that 85 percent of his students landed a man within five years of graduation.[13]

In keeping with Wood's philosophy, Lynn White, president of Mills College for women, in 1950, published his book *Educating Our Daughters*. According to *Time*, White said that women were not happy, and that education was to blame. Women seemed compelled to get jobs in order to feel they were accomplishing something. "Raising a family is apparently not enough: that is being 'just a housewife,'" said White. According to him, "we must agree with the feminists that 'women are people' . . . yet hold to the supplementary truth that 'people are either women or men.'" The role of the college was to give women "a vision of the family and the rewards it offers." What steps White took to do just that are outlined in a *Time* article eight years later. White set up a major in family studies and started a course in Community Leadership so that his graduates would be able to serve symphonies and hospitals. White drew criticism from his female colleagues at other schools. They felt he was trying to restrict women. Not so, said White, "I'm trying to liberate them. I won't be satisfied until I hear a woman say with pride, 'I'm a housewife.'" For White, the "career" of the average woman was to raise a family.[14]

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[13] "New Man in the Ladies' Den," *Time*, December 2, 1946, p. 70.

[14] "People are Either," *Time*, February 27, 1950, p. 48. "Spinach with Vinegar," *Time*, January 27, 1958, p. 71. The image of marriage as a career for women is also used in "Miss Mac," *Time*, March 12, 1945, p. 20. Friedan suggests that the trend to educate women for marriage came about because college-educated women were not having children. In 1949, *Time* reported the "disturbing fact"

By 1960, *Newsweek* was reporting that "frustrated by the daily grind of housework," many married women with college degrees were going back to school as part-time teaching assistants.[15] Similarly, in 1961, *Time* did a special report on education and women titled "One Woman, Two Lives:"

> In the heyday of U.S. feminism, an indomitable suffragette gave a discouraged follower some militant advice: "Call on God, my dear! She will help you!" But the Diety ignores wrongly addressed prayers, and He has kept to the old system, under which women bear babies and men pretty much run everything.[16]

According to the article, "women are still at sea, and their rule is men and children first." But, men did not really want the world to be "half-female and half-free." They recognized that women were good for more than just changing diapers. It was the women who did not believe they were good for anything more. They suffered from "unexpectation."

The proportion of girls in college was 47 percent in 1920 "(a vintage feminist year)." As of the *Time* article in 1961, that proportion had slipped to 37 percent. Only a little more than 50 percent of all college women actually received a bachelor's degree and for every 300 women capable of earning a doctorate degree only one did. The article emphasized the use Russia made of its women: "30 percent of Soviet engineers and 75 percent of doctors are women. In the U.S., only 6 percent of the doctors and 1 percent of the engineers are women."[17] One female educator, who was outraged by such statistics,

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that college graduates were not doing their share to raise the U.S. population. While an average of slightly more than two was apparently desired, college graduates in general averaged only 1.26. "Dwindling Line," *Time*, June 27, 1949, p. 60.

[15] "Wisdom and Wives," *Newsweek*, January 11, 1960, p. 54.

[16] "One Woman, Two Lives," *Time*, November 3, 1961, p. 68.

[17] In 1946, medical schools were training more women to be doctors than ever before. Female enrollment was at 16 percent, up 10 percent from 1944. But, female doctors still found it hard to get internships. The only career paths in medicine open to women were in obstetrics and pediatrics.

was rank-ordered in the article as "mother, microbiologist, and the new president of Radcliffe College." The woman put a different emphasis on motherhood. She was, she said, "a geneticist with nestbuilding experience." The article noted that although "nothing is more joyfully consuming than motherhood," the proportion of a woman's life spent in motherhood was declining rapidly. In 1890, the average woman lived 14 years after her youngest child turned 21. In 1961, that figure had risen to 30 years, due to longer life spans and earlier marriages. The average woman married at age 20 in 1961. Some colleges reported that 90 percent of their graduates married within three years of graduation. A sociology professor reported that "15 or 20 years ago a college girl would invariably reply, 'Career,' if you asked her what she saw in her immediate future. Today, she would reply, "Marriage and children.'"

After reviewing the state of affairs on college campuses and the possible causes of unexpectation among young women, the article concluded:

> By now if such doughty 19th century feminists as Susan B. Anthony had had their way, the U.S. might be full of women running banks, corporations, and research laboratories while their husbands stayed home and tended the children. Instead, militant feminism in the U.S. crested with the passage of the 19th Amendment . . . and rippled away. . . . The main reason feminism failed was its belated discovery of the fact that women need men and motherhood.

The passage is ripe with social messages to women that their proper role is as a wife and mother. Women should forget feminist notions, the article concluded, because feminism had reached its apex. Women should admit that their fulfillment comes from motherhood and marriage. The implication was that the unexpectation women were experiencing was a result of their refusal to acknowledge their role in society. This theme of blaming women for their discontentment is seen repeatedly in the early 1960s.

The article expressed hope that Americans were getting over their prejudice against women. "More Women," *Time*, December 16, 1946, p. 74.

Two years later, *Time* was reporting on a "modest revolution that has already perceptibly reshaped the pattern of U.S. family life." The population of working wives steadily increased from 4,200,000 in 1940, to 8,600,000 in 1950, and to 13,300,000 in 1961. In a 1962 survey of college alumnae, the Department of Labor found that 15 years after graduation, 40 percent of them were working, and more said they were interested in returning to work. The statistics supported the article's statement that "nobody is more noisily dissatisfied these days than that symbol of stability—the fortyish housewife with teenage children and a reasonably successful husband." Many of these housewives went back to school to find "a real job." The director of one college's school of social work described the women enrolled in the masters program as the "kind of gals who've been in the PTA, were den mothers and things like that, and they want a job that's exciting and rewarding and paying."[18]

In another 1963 article, *Time* looked at the women attending M.I.T., even though "hardly anyone imagines girls attending mighty M.I.T." Few women went to 'Tech' in part because high schools steered girls away from it. It was considered too tough for girls. "Few know that M.I.T. offers humanities courses, and well-taught ones too," the article stated as if the humanities were less difficult and more suited to women than science courses. Forty percent of Tech girls marry Techmen, according to the article, "much preferring them to Harvardmen, who are 'all the same.'"[19] Again the article suggests that women, no matter how intelligent, are to get married and stay at home.

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[18] "Second Wind," *Time*, September 22, 1963, p. 56.

[19] "Where the Brains Are," *Time*, October 18, 1963, p. 51.

WOMEN AND MARRIAGE

If the young, middle-class women were getting married and staying at home, at least while their children were young, how were they portrayed by the news magazines? At the end of World War II, many of these women were service wives. Some of them were married to men they hardly knew, just before the men were sent overseas. Others were left on their own to care for small children when their husbands were called off to war. A psychiatrist in San Francisco in 1945 found that servicemen's wives were suffering in large numbers from what he called "a psychoneurotic disease." Women who stayed at home with their families and kept themselves busy, "preferably at a war job," adjusted to the separation best, according to the doctor. But, those who had recently married, were childlike, or had followed their husbands to embarkation ports, suffered the greatest. They experienced psychological reactions such as "resentment against the husband, inability to recall the husband's face or to sense the reality of the married state, vague fears of infidelity. . . . Many such neurotic women find escape in throwing off marriage ties, becoming floozies or barflies." Fortunately, most cases were cured with the first letter from the husband or receipt of his allotment check, both of which "serve to reaffirm the idea of marriage in the sick wife's mind."[20] The psychiatrist viewed women who remained dependent on their husbands as mentally healthy, and those who became independent and sought to "throw off the marriage ties" as mentally unstable and neurotic.

But, according to a poll of service wives taken in February, 1945 by *Time*, there had been no moral or psychological collapse on the part of American women. The women had changed, however. They were more widely travelled and more self-reliant. They met the new responsibilities of working and raising a family on their own. But, they were lonely. "The women want their men to come home. With a unanimity which would startle oldtime feminists, they want to quit their jobs, settle down and have children." One hundred soldiers polled later in the year reflected their wives' answers. They were eager to be home, and even indicated they would go to any lengths to make their wives happy. Their major concern was that their wives may have changed. The common sentiment was: "Just let her be the same as the day I left her."[21]

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[20] "Heartsickness," *Time*, January 29, 1945, p. 65.

It is not surprising that both men and women wanted to return to the security and stability of a home. The war was difficult for everyone, not just the soldiers. Many women had to live in cities away from their family and friends and work for low wages in poor conditions. But the contentment with which women were returning to the home frightened some women. "There is a sleeping sickness among the women of the land,' announced touring novelist Frannie Hurst, in startled Providence. 'This generation of the daughters of career women is retrogressing into . . . that thing known as The Home.'" In *Time* just two issues before, women were told that they belonged in the home. "'Unless a woman can earn $4,000 a year—or maybe $5,000,' declared ex-Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, 'I think it is absurd, anti-social, and uneconomic for her to work outside the home.'"[22]

The frenzy for matrimony led some women to great lengths to attract a husband, as *Time* reported in 1948: "She had been married at 15, divorced at 19. She had two kids, no man, and a flock of debts. Now she was 27, and checking hats in Johnny Shields' Midway Inn." So she tried to place an ad in a newspaper. "She would marry any man who would support her and the children and give her $25,000 cash, right away." The paper refused the ad, but ran the story. She admitted, in a voice with the "gently feminine tone of a bent gong," that she was interested in only one thing—money. A week later she had her man. At least three other American women placed marriage ads, one even offered to pay $10,000 to the man. Perhaps these women should have waited until 1950 when Cora Carlyle published her book on how to get a husband. The book, serialized in the *Washington Post*, presented a deliberate, planned approach to finding a man. Ms. Carlyle even suggested cutting away, like a cancerous growth, friends who got in the way. Perhaps some women had to go to such lengths to get a husband because they did not possess the ideal qualities for motherhood. They were not, in other words, nurses. Apparently, the reason there was a shortage in 1950 of nurses was because nurses made such good wives. Only 20 percent of graduate registered nurses stayed in nursing for any length of time. "They tend to be snapped up by sensible young men. A nurse learns to care for other people's pains, instead of spilling out her own problems. She takes to family life like an old hen taking over a brood of chickens. It's no wonder there's a nurse shortage."[23]

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[21] "They Think of the Moment," *Time*, February 26, 1945, p. 18. "The Soldiers Think of Home," *Time*, April 16, 1945, p. 24.

[22] "Hearth & Home," *Time*, March 22, 1948, p. 48. "The Furrowed Brow," *Time*, March 8, 1948, p. 38.

Although the goal for women in the 1950s was matrimony, being a housewife presented its own problems. A study done for the TV networks in 1950 revealed that what kept women from watching purely entertaining programs during the day was "1) fear of temptation and resultant loss of work-time, 2) guilt feelings if work is not finished, and 3) fear of loss of recognition as a 'sacrificing housewife.'"[24] No one seemed to question why women needed to be thought of as sacrificing housewives, or why they should fear not living up to that image.

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[23] "Dorothy & George Something," *Time*, June 7, 1948, p. 27. "Passion & Pork Chops," *Time*, June 14, 1948, p. 20. "Strawberries, Blueberries & Men," *Time*, August 14, 1950, p. 13. "Wife Material," *Time*, September 11, 1950, p. 88.

[24] "How to Attract Women," *Time*, September 18, 1950, p. 91.

The problems of the housewife in 1950 had "received little attention from medical researchers (who are mostly men, of course)." So women doctors from around the world got together to discuss "The Pathology and Hygiene of Housework." They decided that women suffered from both a lack of appreciation and the repetitious monotony of the work. A survey of 194 homemakers in Britain showed that 79 percent complained of "tiredness, anxiety and depression." The "conscientious housewife" is also heir to such ailments as "dermatitis ('dishpan hands' from allergy to cleansing agents), neuritis, neuroses, varicose veins, low back pain, fallen womb, peptic ulcers, inflamed muscles, vitamin deficiencies, arthritis, flat feet."[25] None of the doctors, at least as reported by *Time*, considered that the ailments might have had a psychological basis. They merely proffered ways to make housework easier. U.S. women had the best life, the doctors decided, because of the mechanical gadgets they could use to ease their work. According to the editor of *Harper's*, American women had it all. As reported by *Time*, he wrote:

> Never before in history has any nation devoted so large a share of its brains and resources to the sole purpose of keeping its women greased, deodorized, corseted, enshrined in chrome convertibles, curled, slenderized, rejuvenated, and relieved of all physical labor.[26]

Despite all the pampering, American women were not happy. In 1960, *Newsweek* ran a special report on "Young Wives" to find out what was wrong.

> Who could ask for anything more? The educated American woman has her brains, her good looks, her car, her freedom. Come next November, she will outvote the American male—for the first time in history there are 3 million more registered woman voters than men voters.
>
> Yet she often complains that she is not completely happy.
>
> What are her complaints?

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[25] "Woman's Work," *Time*, September 25, 1950, p. 48.

[26] "Male at Bay," *Time*, August 8, 1958, p. 12.

When the young American wife of the 1960s looked into a mirror, according to the report, she saw an image unique in the history of her sex. She saw *"a woman freed from the tyranny of her body. . . . A woman freed from the tyranny of ignorance. . . . A woman freed from the tyranny of poverty."* What she could see was the image of freedom. But, she also saw disenchantment and dissatisfaction.

> Disenchantment from what? The answer seems to be that she is disenchanted with what she has been brought up to expect. First, this woman is told that man's world has opened up to her, that opportunities are limitless for the woman in business, in science, in education, even in the Army. . . . Yet when she goes to work, she finds that in almost every field there is a barrier, often denied but nevertheless real, beyond which few women progress.

So, she married and had children. But, she was not prepared to take responsibility for bearing and rearing the children. Her education did not prepare her for motherhood. There was, according to one educator, a profound lack of scientific objectivity in the family studies courses offered at schools.

Another theory, proffered by anthropologist Margaret Mead, was that since prestige and status traditionally have been attached to "whatever it is the male is doing, . . ."a young mother with a beautiful family and . . . charm, talent, and brains . . . is apt to dismiss her role apologetically." One writer even suggested that "the average American male is uneasy in the presence of brilliant women—and that female intelligence is widely regarded as an obstacle to love by both men and women." But, the disenchantment was caused by more than just education, and status symbols:

> In the 1920s and 1930s—when the postwar crop of mothers were in school—there was genuine concern that the family was on the way out: Women had won the vote, the right to stand at the bar, and there were rumblings about companionate marriages. But there is a new trend among the young mothers of today and tomorrow.
>
> "Now we've all rushed too far in the opposite direction—to overdomesticity," Dr. Mead points out. "Togetherness, you know. Marriage is supposed to be the apex of the woman's existence—in fact, the only purpose in life. She goes to school or takes a job only to get a man. There is nothing a woman can do today that we might label 'happiness' that is not connected with

> a man. A date, a steady, a fiance, a husband—we teach her that these things she must want and prepare for."[27]

Despite acknowledging in the opening paragraphs of the article that women found barriers to advancement in "man's world," *Newsweek* concluded by questioning whether women had really done that badly. Women's burden was simply the burden of having to make free and individual choices. According to the article, women asked for equality and got it. If they were unhappy, it was their fault. So women's disenchantment was turned around and thrown back in their faces. Ironically, however, women were still not free to make choices.

WOMEN WHO THREATENED THE SYSTEM

At a symposium at the University of California Medical Center in 1963, the topic was women and femininity. One of the speakers, writer Marya Mannes "(in private life, Mrs. Christopher Clarkson)" said that:

> "Thanks largely to the brilliant manipulations of the mass media, women are obsessed with the idea of femininity as the guarantee of happiness. Be thin, be smart, be gay, be sexy, be soft-spoken. Get new slip covers, learn new recipes, have bright children, further your man's career, help the community, drive the car, smile." Nobody, she pointed out, "urged Madame Curie to dye her hair."[28]

Struggling against the image of femininity which developed after the war, some women continued to fight against the system that kept women down. These women received the most unfavorable treatment from the news magazines.

Whatever advances women had made during the war into male-dominated fields and whatever gains they had made in their self-reliance and self-esteem were slowly eroded in the postwar period by the news magazines. A report of a strike by women elevator operators in Boston in 1946 was marked by *Time*'s condescending tone.

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[27] "Young Wives," *Newsweek*, March 7, 1960, p. 57.

[28] "A New Femininity," *Time*, February 8, 1963, p.

The women had held "an excited conference over cigarettes in the powder room." They decided to strike for discharge of an unpopular supervisor and an increase in pay. When they presented their first demand to the manager, he agreed at once. "Astonished, they happily trooped back to work. Later, when someone happened to think that they had forgotten all about their pay, they decided to strike all over again this week."[29]

Even as late as 1960, *Newsweek* was presenting the demands of women unions as petty. Titled "Girls Against the Boys," an article reported on the split between the unions of the airline pilots and the stewardesses. The pilots' union had chartered the stewardesses' union and had helped it through its initial growing pains. The two even shared headquarters. Then "in a fit of pique," the stewardesses declared their "womenly independence." The pilots, who considered the stewardesses' union as one of their locals, responded "in logical male fashion" by taking the case to court. As the lawyers started negotiating, it appeared as if "the ladies' case might founder on their classic, ladylike inability to make up their minds."[30]

In February, 1946, the Women's National Press Club named Dr. Lise Meitner, a pioneer contributor to the atomic bomb, 'Woman of the Year.' Other notable women, such as Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, artist Georgia O'Keefe, IBM vice president Ruth Leach, and congresswoman Mary T. Norton, received recognition as well at a special dinner. "Then nine of the eleven sat for a picture as notable for its variety of necklines as for its collection of female talent."[31] The neckline reference seriously undercuts the accomplishments of these women and the credibility of the Women's National Press Club.

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[29] "Penny Wise," *Time*, January 14, 1946, p. 17.

[30] "Girls Against the Boys," *Newsweek*, August 22, 1960, p. 73. The article does not refer to the fact that the women's union included male stewards as well. Its proper name was the Air Line Stewards and Stewardesses Association.

[31] "Female Talent," *Time*, February 18, 1946, p. 44.

The credibility of the General Federation of Women's Clubs also was brought into question in an article covering the club's 55th annual convention. Three thousand women spent five days meeting, listening to speakers, and discussing issues. "The off-hour activities were almost as arduous as the business sessions. Bellboys rushed velvet, satin or brocade evening gowns to and from the cleaners (average tip: 10¢); elevator operators coped with breathless indecision."

In the hubbub of balloting, all discipline was lost, according to the article. Cried club president Mrs. LaFell Dickinson: "Ladies, will you please shut up!" The same sense of female hysteria came through in a 1948 article on a meeting held by the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women. Opinions, it was reported, were expressed with clarity, "though sometimes with rather unparliamentary edginess." At one point, a judge from the U.S. cried out: "It's on page 24, and you can read it yourself!" The women resolved "somewhat bitterly" to "let the voice of women ring out" in an effort to bring the nations of the world together. At the end of a lengthy speech, one member announced: "I am going to the toilet."[32]

In an article titled "Spent Crusade," *Time* reported on the meeting to commemorate the first Women's Rights Convention:

> In 1848 an intrepid band of ladies, full of git [sic] and gumption, descended on Seneca Falls, N.Y., to declare a rebellion against "the repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman." These injuries, they said, had as their direct object the establishment of an "absolute tyranny" over woman.[33]

Two hundred women, representing every major U.S. women's organization met to commemorate that convention. But, the truth was, according to the article, the women had trouble finding anything to be upset about. In the previous 100 years, women had "emancipated themselves from domestic tyranny, political, and economic discrimination, laced-up corsets, and knee-length bloomers." Man had changed his "fuddyduddy" notions of what was proper for woman. Man had "allowed her to do his typing, wait on him in restaurants, manage his budget, represent him in Congress, and stand on her own feet in streetcars." Women comprised 50.8 percent of the voting population and were a "potent, if erratic, political force." Their current grievances were more technical than political, said the article. Housework was the main complaint. "But, all in all, the ladies were pretty well satisfied." They lacked the fire and determination of their predecessors. "Perhaps they had become jaded with success. There were even some faint, uncertain signs of a retreat." One woman sat and knitted throughout the session, and motherhood was at a thirty-year peak, noted the article. "Some were beginning to suspect what no man dared to suggest—that women had carried the drive for equality to just about the physiological limit."

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[32] "Sex O'Clock," *Time*, July 1, 1946, p. 24. "Let the Voice of Women," *Time*, January 26, 1948, p. 25.

[33] "Spent Crusade," *Time*, March 1, 1948, p. 15.

The theme of retrenchment in the women's movement could be seen again in 1950. In a *Time* article, the lobbying efforts of both sides of the Equal Rights Amendment debate were covered. At the head of the women pushing for the amendment was Alice Paul. Behind her were "women's organizations by the score." Miss Paul and "her cohorts" used documents, plain talk, and implied political threats to lobby the Senators. One woman "splendidly flashed the most invincible feminine weapon of all"—legs. Against the ERA were Eleanor Roosevelt and "women's organizations by the score." These women feared that equal rights might be a double-edged sword and be used to deny certain privileges women received because of their sex. "The amendment, they protested, would wipe out the whole intricate structure of laws set up to protect women in a world where—they faced the truth—men largely ran things and women had to cope with physiological fact." Senator Estes Kefauver even suggested that rape would no longer be a crime if the amendment passed. Hollywood comedians took advantage of the controversy. Bob Hope cracked: "maybe now women will drive on the same side of the street as the men." Senator Carl Hayden, convinced that men and women were inherently different, settled the debate with his rider to the amendment. Everyone was happy, "but there were indignant sniffs from the indomitable Miss Paul."[34]

CONCLUSION

Betty Friedan spoke for a whole generation of women when she wrote *The Feminine Mystique*. She shattered the image that women's magazines had worked to create of woman as child-like, dependent, and uninterested in anything outside of her domestic sphere. The news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, from 1945 to 1963, reinforced that feminine mystique both rhetorically and thematically.

Although *Time* and *Newsweek* presented an image of women doing things and making their way in the world, the articles were written in gender-biased language that perpetuated the social constructs of femininity and masculinity. Such gender constructs, Simone de Beauvoir argued in *The Second Sex*, reflect a vision of the ideal as seen through the eyes of the dominant class. In America, that class is male, and masculinity is the ideal. Masculine qualities are positive, feminine characteristics are negative. Women, not being male, are always something less than the ideal. They are the other, according to de Beauvoir.

In *Time* and *Newsweek*, women in business and politics were given masculine characteristics, such as a "man-sized will" or a "tough, masculine mind." These women were portrayed as exceptional women who nevertheless bowed to the standards of femininity even while eschewing those norms for themselves. Women who were seen as threatening the system, on the other hand, were described in stereotypically feminine terms. They were indecisive, illogical, emotional, as well as cunning and manipulative. Women were also described physically. They were "brown-haired;" they were "small (5 ft. 1 in.);" even their measurements were given. Providing such physical details reinforced the concept of women as other and as different from the masculine ideal. Attention to physical description also implies that the editors believed women were interested in such detail, that somehow a woman cared whether another woman was a blonde or a brunette. Although there was a high female readership, the magazines reflect the male bias of their decision-makers. That is not to say that *Time* and *Newsweek* consciously set out to keep women in the home, but rather it shows the strength of the social constructs in American society.

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[34] "The Sisters of Abigail Adams," *Time*, February 6, 1950, p. 21.

Throughout the time period examined, marriage was an important issue. Virtually every article gave the marital status of the woman involved. If a woman were single, an attempt was made to explain why she was not married. Marriage and children were the societal norm for women, and when it was feared that women were dissatisfied with married life, the education system was used to encourage women in their career as wives. Home economics and family studies courses were developed to prepare women for their role.

The family has always been a strong American value. The feminists of the 19th century and of the 1920s and 1930s had challenged and threatened that tradition. To reinforce marriage and the family in the minds of women, feminists had to be presented as extremists, and outside the mainstream. Feminists were repeatedly described as "militant." Both *Time* and *Newsweek* painted pictures of feminism as a failed, useless force, with which no middle-class woman would want to align herself. The goal of feminism had been to have women running the world, which would have meant the end of the family. Such an extreme position was untenable for the majority of women. The message advanced throughout was that feminism was no longer needed, assuming it ever had been. The first wave of American feminism had culminated in 1920 when women achieved the right to vote. The doughty and indomitable suffragettes had nothing left about which to complain. Men had changed and had allowed women a change in status. Having achieved the vote and reached their physiological limit, women found fulfillment through their husbands and children. If they did not, they were unstable. If they were not happy, it was because they were being faced with the same burden of having to make choices that men faced.

Conditioned to accept their otherness by society, women internalized the feminine qualities they were given by men. They strived to achieve this feminine mystique. But, according to Friedan, since the mystique was a social creation of men, women's pursuit of it could only lead to discontentment and disillusionment. *Time* and *Newsweek*, from 1945 to 1963, presented motherhood and marriage as the norm. They reinforced the notion of the feminine mystique, and in so doing, contributed to the social conditioning of American women.

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NEGOTIATING CLASS AND ETHNICITY:

THE POLISH- AND YIDDISH-LANGUAGE PRESS IN CHICAGO

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NEGOTIATING CLASS AND ETHNICITY:
THE POLISH- AND YIDDISH-LANGUAGE PRESS IN CHICAGO

ABSTRACT

Chicago was an important cultural center for many ethnic groups, both because of its large immigrant population and its central location. Prominent among these cultural institutions was Chicago's thriving foreign-language press--the city was home to dozens of weekly and daily foreign-language newspapers published in all the city's major languages. This paper explores the ways in which the often-complex intersection of notions of class and ethnic solidarity was played out in Chicago's Polish- and Yiddish-language press.

NEGOTIATING CLASS AND ETHNICITY:

THE POLISH- AND YIDDISH-LANGUAGE PRESS IN CHICAGO

First and second-generation immigrants made up the bulk of Chicago's population at the turn of this century. Nearly half of Chicago's half-million residents had been born abroad in 1880. By 1900, three-fourths of Chicago's 1.7 million inhabitants were either immigrants or the children of immigrants. The German community was the city's largest (there were more first and second-generation German immigrants than native-born residents), though substantial Polish, Swedish, Czech, Russian and Italian immigrant communities had also developed. By 1930, the first and second-generation immigrant population had declined to 69 percent of the city's population.[1]

Chicago was an important cultural center for many ethnic groups, both because of its large immigrant population and its central location. Prominent among these cultural institutions was Chicago's thriving foreign-language press--the city was home to dozens of weekly and daily foreign-language newspapers published in all the city's major languages. This paper explores the ways in which the often-complex intersection of notions of class and ethnic solidarity was played out in Chicago's Polish- and Yiddish-language press. Both communities sustained for many decades an extraordinarily rich variety of ethnic institutions and newspapers that illustrate the conflicts between religious, nationalist, free-thought and socialist groupings within communities that might seem to an outsider quite homogeneous.

Socialism, Catholicism, or Nationalism?

Despite common perceptions of a solidly Catholic Polish community, Chicago Poles sustained diverse political cultures. In 1920 Polish workers could choose between five daily newspapers ranging from the Socialist Dziennik Ludowy (People's Daily) to the Polish National Alliance's Zgoda (still published to this day).[2] The Polish press was seen as "one of the four wheels needed to make the Polish community run" (the others being the church, school, and fraternal societies).[3]

The Zgoda was sent to the home of each PNA member--serving most as their primary newspaper--offering news from the U.S. and Poland, reports on scientific and technical developments, and serialized fiction in their native tongue. These newspapers were closely tied to the various fraternal societies aligned with the Catholic church or the Polish nationalist movement; societies which were often the main shareholders in the papers. Polish-language newspapers were closely tied to, and generally issued directly by, Polish fraternal societies; their editors often elected by delegates to the societies' annual national conventions. And this press was often part of a far-ranging program of workers education, including the press, scientific and political lectures and organized courses of study. The Polish socialists took the lead in these programs, operating a People's University that regularly drew as many as a thousand men and women to hear socialist lecturers and courses in history,

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literature, natural science, etc.[4]

As Francisek Barc, chief editor of the Polish Roman Catholic Union's *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* (Union Daily), put it:

> Whenever an organization is being formed a champion is necessary in its behalf.... Such an organ contains not only official information, but also accounts of the Central Officers meetings, those of the Councils, and the various societies... Besides this, the columns of the organ always serve as an inspiration to work.[5]

New Polish-language periodicals were launched nearly every year, although half of the 112 new journals launched between 1872 and 1930 ceased publication within their first five years. Yet the average life-span was nearly 12 years, and the number of journals rose steadily until 1915 (when 41 Polish-language periodicals were being published in Chicago). The numbers of Polish-language journals then began a gradual decline that reduced their numbers to 21 by 1930.[6]

"God did not give the pig horns"

> Instead of playing at Socialism they should turn to honest labor.... God did not give the pig horns. There are the poor and the rich; the wise and the ignorant; and it will remain thus to the end of the world.... It would be better for our community if all the Polish socialists and anarchists were herded together on some unpopulated island, there to create their kingdom.[7]

Poles were solidly ensconced in the working class and Polish newspapers universally supported their struggles for better wages and working conditions. During the 1922 stockyards strike the Polish Roman Catholic Union (a church-dominated mutual benefit society) daily, *Dziennik Zjednoczenia*, boasted that it employed union labor, paid the union scale, had always guarded workers' interests, and actively raised funds for strike relief.[8]

> The Poles in the United States constitute a working class... We have very few employers among us. The Polish press does not represent Capital, because it does not have it... It is no wonder that the sympathies of the entire Polish Society, and in no less a measure of the press, are on the side of the worker...

The independent Catholic daily, *Dziennik Chicagoski* (Chicago Daily), similarly supported the strike--which it portrayed more as an ethnic than a class battle. *Chicagoski*'s coverage stressed the assistance provided strikers by Polish societies, Polish unions, and Polish businessmen.[9] Victory for the strikers, *Zjednoczenia* wrote, would better "that entire part of society which is of Polish descent." But at the same time, they urged Poles to establish their own "purely Polish" labor organizations so that they would no longer be abused by union leaders:

> Strikes... are a calamity for everybody. Neither the workers, the employers, nor the country benefit from them. The fraudulent and greedy individuals are the ones who benefit... Among these there are not any Poles. There are only Jews.[10]

Anti-semitic ravings were frequently featured in the PRCU press, often tied to its equally fierce anti-socialism. "Socialism kindles the flames of class prejudice and hatred.... Socialism, directed from under cover by an internationally organized capital, is making war on the national capital," weakening nations from within. "The principles of socialism," *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* announced,

> were created in the clever minds of the semitic race for the purposes of destroying Christianity and civilization in order to gain... control of the Aryan races and to make slaves out of them.

Meanwhile, the PRCU's weekly organ proclaimed that "Jews are the

Spreaders of Bolshevism in America," and editorialized that pogromists "are beating Jews because they have earned it." (Though it urged readers to behave peacefully despite provocations by Jews and Blacks.)[11]

Dziennik Zjednoczenia published its first daily issue Sept. 22 1921, though it was numbered volume 25 number 37, reflecting the weekly Narod Polski's (Polish Nation) 25-year run. The Polish Roman Catholic Union's chaplain spoke at the dedication of the paper's offices and printing plant,

> stressing the importance of the newly-established newspaper, the chief supporter of... our poor working people... [The] newspaper must protect the Polish spirit and Polish language, and stand guard over that lofty adherence of our people to the Roman Catholic faith.[12]

Even when Narod Polski editorialized in favor of unions--arguing that Polish workers earned lower wages and suffered more injuries than better organized groups--it concluded that it was disgraceful for Polish workers to join unions under Jewish leadership.[13] While proclaiming its support for union organization, the PRCU was uncomfortable with actually-existing unions, and indeed with class consciousness. "A true friend of the working man," it argued, does not rouse class hatred; for "the true cause of his poverty and exploitation [is] due to his low mental level... and gullibility." Enlightened workers recognized that there was no fundamental division between labor and capital--any intelligent worker could, through diligent wor and study, become a professional, or even wealthy. The road to betterment lay through education and self-improvement, not through class struggle.[14]

In 1921, the daily called for compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes, arguing that the labor movement's opposition "supports the point of view of only one class of society, disregarding the interests of the whole nation..." The solution to unemployment was for married women to give up their jobs. When strikes broke out, the PRCU defended the right to picket--but only to observe how many people were going in to work. Any effort to shut down the struck plant was both illegal and immoral.[15]

The Polish National Alliance's daily, *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, was also prone to anti-Semitism, proclaiming that Poland had been a haven for Jews and had been sorely abused by them. "The motto 'Down with the Jews!' is a general outcry of the exploited nation."[16] The socialist *Dziennik Ludowy* (People's Daily), however, was contemptuous:

> There is no shortage of 'demons' among the Poles. In almost every nationality there are... rich and poor, sincere people and cheaters... We Christian workers follow the Jewish workers and others against exploitation.[17]

"A Thorn in the Side of the Impudent Exploiters"[18]

Dziennik Ludowy was a 12-page daily offering broad coverage of international and national news, especially labor news, some of it translated from the American socialist press. Readers from around the country sent in regular, detailed reports of working conditions and strikes. *Ludowy* supported Polish independence but opposed what it saw as premature military struggles--the

Polish revolutionary movement must first organize mass support and ally itself with revolutionary movements in the occupying powers.[19] Similarly, Dziennik Ludowy was committed to the broader American working-class movement from the start, waging an ultimately successful campaign to persuade the independent Polish Socialist Alliance to join the Socialist Party (though a minority faction remained independent, moving their organ, Robotnik [Worker], from Chicago to New York). Polish workers were in the United States for several years, if not for good.

> In splintering a handful of emigrants into tiny branches of old country parties we not only hamper the larger American socialist movement, but we also harm ourselves... We need to protect ourselves from the despicable actions of strikebreakers and from the exploitation of American capitalism.[20]

Ludowy was not only concerned with Polish workers, it also devoted its columns to the problems of Italian construction workers in Germany, Asian contract labor in South America, and South African miners. All capitalists are the same, the paper argued, "regardless of their nationality or religion; workingmen should not read capitalistic papers, but their own." Workers were treated even more shabbily than were slaves before the Civil War, who at least could expect to be fed and housed so as to be kept fit for work.[21] "Where is Hell?," another issue asked:

> Hell exists in every working man's home because misery and hunger lead to dissension, quarrels and crime. Heaven exists in the homes of the capitalists and the priests, because there is abundance and luxury.

People would do better to follow the example of the bees, to rid themselves of drones and to share the fruits of their labor.

"Are drones more numerous than bees? Let the bees clip the wings of the drones at the election box and they will be exterminated forever."[22]

The issue was not improving the condition of Polish workers alone, but uniting the entire class, regardless of ethnicity or religion, to improve conditions for all.[23] Disregarding their compatriots' religious sentiments, Ludowy castigated "our dear priests and the 'patriotic' saloonkeepers." When workers discover they are

> being terribly cheated and kept in ignorance, [they] will reject today's teachings of the "Black Ravens" and saloon patriots, and will join the ranks of the Socialists, where there is light and truth.[24]

When Socialist Party standard-bearer Eugene Debs visited Chicago the paper arranged a demonstration and march. The Polish workers' choir sang the Marseillaises, the orchestra played Polish and international revolutionary anthems, and hundreds of Polish workers marched under the party's red banners.[25] Debs received an estimated 11 percent of Chicago's Polish vote in 1904 (running as high as 20 percent in steel districts), and 12.5 percent in 1912--compared to a city-wide 13.2 percent.[26]

Polish socialists joined their fellow socialists of other nationalities for street meetings, demonstrations, and political campaigns.[27] But they were also strongly concerned with nationalist issues. The Polish Socialist Alliance was forced from the Socialist Party in 1916 because of its active support for Pilsudski's Polish Legion (then aligned to the Central Powers, later switching sides); a much smaller Internationalist faction replaced the Alliance as the Party's Polish section, though it soon left to join the Communist Party. Both factions had significant support in Chicago (though socialists were always a minority in the Polish community); *Ludowy* backed the Alliance while criticizing Pilsudski's emphasis on military activity.[28] *Ludowy*'s columns were opened to a wide array of Polish organizations--including Socialist locals, the Industrial Workers of the World, PNA lodges, the Polish Women's Alliance and locals of the Machinists, Garment Workers and Bakers unions.[29]

As with other Polish papers, *Dziennik Ludowy* was part of a dense network of unions, singing societies, the People's University and similar institutions (though socialists generally did not maintain their own mutual benefit societies, instead joining the PNA or kindred organizations).[30] Socialists addressed their supporters not as Poles who happened to be workers, but as workers who happened to be Poles. They were exploited as workers, and as workers would secure their emancipation:

> Every time the American citizen who has the misfortune of being a proletariat compares that which the present government gives him with that which he should get, so many times must he clench his fists and say: 'This government is my enemy'... There is no field in which the American workman has not been wronged... The police, the courts and the legislature are the servants of the Moloch God... Capital and the present government are like master and servant.[31]

When the Chicago Federation of Labor launched its own Labor Party to contest local and statewide elections, *Dziennik Ludowy* broke with the Socialists to endorse the CFL ticket and work for its election.[32] But whichever ticket it endorsed, the bottom line remained the same:

> The Republicans as well as the Democrats... are the servants of capital and must obey... We should side with the party that protects the worker.... It is better to vote for justice and right, no matter what the outcome may be, than to support a mass of criminals.[33]

When Dziennik Ludowy encountered financial difficulties, several Chicago unions (including the ILGWU, Laborers, Meatcutters, Machinists, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers) worked to increase its circulation and job printing, and made substantial outright donations. The Chicago Federation of Labor's official organ, The New Majority, was typeset and printed in Ludowy's pressroom, and an article in that paper noted that Ludowy had long assisted the labor movement, both in its columns and by providing Polish speakers for organizing meetings and other functions. Ludowy continued publishing until April 20 1925, when it declared bankruptcy.[34]

The Polish National Alliance

The Polish National Alliance trod the middle ground between the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Socialists (indeed, the socialists were members of the PNA for a time)--and came to be the dominant force in the Polish community. Like the PRCU, the PNA drew the bulk of its membership through its mutual benefit insurance plan and social/cultural activities. But the Alliance held to a secular definition of Polishness, rejecting in 1899 a proposal to ban "Jews and other notorious infidels" from membership. Dziennik Zwiazkowy began daily publication in 1908 "not for profit, [but] to defend [the Alliance] against unjust attacks." *Zwiazkowy* not only defended the Alliance, it forcefully advocated the "purely Polish stand... that Poland must be united, independent, self-governing, with an outlet to the sea."[35]

The Alliance was more sympathetic than the Catholic Union to labor unions, vigorously protesting when *Dziennik Ludowy* questioned its commitment to workers' struggles:

> Behold, brethren! Who would ever suspect that these so-called "comrades" would make such a miraculous discovery! ... *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* is an enemy of the workers!... A newspaper edited by the working class, directed and published not by tycoons and millionaires but by working men writing for the working class--is a foe of the laboring cause....
>
> Whoever reads *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* knows well that it... always defends workers.... This newspaper is of the opinion that strikes are the only weapon of defense against exploiters.... [but] nothing can be gained by smashing windows in factories, destroying materials and machines, and engaging in street brawls.[36]

"Unions are a great thing," the paper editorialized on another occasion, "they are the laborer's wall of defense against ruthless capitalism."[37] Although America could be proud of its great humanitarian tradition, it had become "an Eden for capitalist exploiters, and a hell for the common people... Today we... have the government of the money, by the money, for the money."[38] The Polish Women's Alliance also enthusiastically supported strikes. "The lot of the workers is indeed heavy in the famous land of freedom," they concluded. "The economy of this free country sacrifices a greater number of lives than the war in Europe."[39]

Not surprisingly, pro-labor sentiments were shared by the

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Alliance rank-and-file. Several members objected when the PNA's weekly organ was issued without a union label:

> The Polish National Alliance consists mostly of workers, and these workers have a right to demand the organ of this organization to be conducted from beginning to end by union workers, and not by scabs.... We, being union workers, aren't able to support a scab paper.[40]

While the Alliance stepped in to settle this dispute, its organs carried out a long-running feud with "Polish Socialists or, to be more truthful, international Socialists using the Polish language," arguing that socialists were less interested in promoting their ideas than in seizing control of the "well-organized and wealthy" Alliance and "kill[ing] religion and patriotism in our people."[41] Socialists "hate work of any type and avoid it as if it were some disease. None of these half-wits has ever attempted hard work... They have never even as much as looked into the factory hells..." Instead, socialist "indigents and racketeers" devoted their time to attacking other Poles; the bulk of the generous donations they collected from the community for labor's cause was diverted to socialist propaganda. Polish businessmen, the editor concluded, were more sincere and generous supporters of Polish workers than were the "degenerates who call themselves Polish socialists."[42]

The over-riding issue for the Alliance was ethnic solidarity. In 1914 *Zwiazkowy* endorsed every Polish candidate standing in the election--regardless of program. The list included Democrats, Republicans, and even one Socialist. Similarly, the paper urged readers to "patronize Polish

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businessmen as much as possible, and not [to] patronize strangers."[43]

Rounding out Chicago's major Polish dailies was Dziennik Chicagoski, an independent Catholic daily established in 1890.[44] Unlike its competitors, Chicagoski was not formally tied to community institutions--it was an unabashedly profit-seeking paper modelled more on the English-language general-circulation press than on its Polish counterparts.[45] Chicagoski was generally reluctant to support strikes, but in 1895, when wages in South Chicago steel mills fell to as low as fifty cents a day, it concluded that under such conditions hunger left workers little alternative.[46]

But Chicagoski opposed sympathy strikes, argued that contracts must be honored, urged Poles to return to their jobs rather than stay out in prolonged strikes, and refused to employ union typesetters.[47] Its strike coverage stressed ethnic solidarity--and in particular efforts by Polish businessmen to provide relief. When conflicts broke out between local Poles and the Catholic clergy Dziennik Chicagoski told readers they should learn their place and stop making trouble. Its advice on labor matters often took a similar tone.[48]

A Polish satirical magazine ridiculed Chicagoski's support for established authority, reporting that the paper had discovered one particularly advanced Polish student in the parochial schools who had:

> succeeded in signing his name without any assistance. This very important act was verified by our Chicago

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> stupefier [Chicagoski].... A very careful investigation was made in order to determine if there are any more such pearls among our parochial students. The investigation failed to find another one... but all of them know how to say prayers...[49]

But while the satirist may have had little use for Chicagoski, it had even less use for labor militants. "A.K." wrote a lengthy "Warning to the Poles" arguing that Polish workers should work for the motherland, rather than joining Chicago's often-militant labor movement:

> We all have the right to live, and we should protect and defend this right. But we should defend this right by lawful means and common sense. We should not mix with socialists or anarchists; neither should we accept and follow their doctrines... The object of these ignorant instigators who try to ensnare the Polish working people is not to improve their condition... but to mislead them, deprive them of their faith... and use them as tools of crime for overthrowing our social order...
>
> The principle of socialism is cosmopolitanism. A socialist foes not work for the cause of any nation; he works for the "international cause"... From a practical point of view and for patriotic reasons, we American Poles have no right to join the ranks of socialists or anarchists... We have found hospitality here and we should not abuse it...[50]

Indeed, Dziennik Chicagoski's editors were not convinced that their opponents were truly Polish. "To be a Pole one does not necessarily have to be a Catholic; that is true. Yet the least indifference to Catholicism is harmful to our nationality..." One could not be a good patriot without being a Catholic.[51] Since the Polish National Alliance admitted "Jews, non-religious followers, and persons of questionable character," one could not be both a good Catholic and an Alliance member--joining the PNA was a sin for which absolution could not be

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granted.[52] Nor was the Alliance's *Zgoda* a Polish paper; it attacked the clergy, ignored events organized by Catholic societies, and filled its columns with articles about PNA projects. A "loyal Polish paper," in contrast, would "publish all the news pertinent to the Poles" before presenting arguments and polemics.[53] Nor could socialists be good Poles:

> Socialists of Polish descent have as much in common with the ideal of Polish nationalism as the Zulus or Hottentots of Africa.... The Socialists, who call themselves Poles, are the enemies of Polish ideals... they are creatures who take advantage of the Polish people in a most contemptible manner.[54]

Dziennik Chicagoski was not alone in this attitude. The Polish Roman Catholic Union's daily strongly endorsed Polish legislation providing for the death penalty for revolutionary activity; anything less would be to commit national suicide.[55]

But while *Chicagoski* advised Poles to submit to their fate, remember their place and trust in God, such meekness was certainly not universal. Chicago's Polish community supported Catholic and nationalist organs, but it also sustained several Socialist (including, for 18 years, *Dziennik Ludowy*), communist, anarchist, IWW and anti-clerical organs--all of which questioned the extent of the hospitality they had found, and insisted that the social order be at least transformed, if not overthrown.[56]

"Human Lives Sacrificed on the Altar of Profit"[57]

> A workers' paper is as different from a capitalistic paper as night is from day...[58]

While Polish socialists were unable to reconcile religious and nationalist sensibilities with their socialist ideals.

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Chicago's Jewish socialists largely succeeded in creating a tight-knit fusion of class and ethnic identity. Although Jewish socialists began as a minority current, they soon came to dominate Chicago Yiddish newspaper circulation, the United Hebrew Trades (which united Jewish union locals) and the city's largest Jewish mutual aid society, the Workmen's Circle.

Chicago's immigrant Jewish community was initially served by the daily Jewish Courier. The Courier stressed ethnic ties, but generally supported unionization and labor struggles by Jewish workers: "the longer the delay in organizing, the longer will exploitation by the employers continue." Ethnic solidarity was more important even than labor contracts--when a United Garment Workers local continued working during an ILGWU strike, the Courier insisted that "the Jewish workers of Chicago" were owed an explanation.[59] When the Progressive Cigar Makers Union requested a plug for an organizing meeting, the editor waxed indignant:

> Warm words, when my body is shaking from anger!... It seems to me than no warmer words than six or seven dollars a week need to be mentioned. This alone should be so hot and burning that it will ignite the heart of every worker, it must ignite with a fire which would spread and convert into ashes the hearts of the, so-called, philanthropic bosses, who pay their workers such miserably low wages...

However, such workers were surely too tired, too hungry, to attend organizing meetings.

> Those who already have sufficient bread, they must help... If there is still blood running in Jewish hearts, I say Jewish--workers or not workers--we will warm it up, so that it will give courage...

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The Courier favored ethnic solidarity in politics, as in labor. But it urged unions to maintain a strict separation from political and (especially) radical organizations. While the Courier leaned towards the Democratic Party as the only party dedicated to the middle road, standing in the way of all extremists, it denounced red scares and called for the release of prisoners jailed for opposing the first world war.[61]

But while the Courier proclaimed its natural tendency to support workers during strikes, it denied the possibility of class struggle between Jews.

> We have never recognized a strike in a Jewish tailoring concern, cigar-factory, or any other factory, as a class struggle. We decidedly deny that it exists. The Jewish manufacturer... labors very strenuously himself... and is not a capitalist... The Jewish employer and employee belong to one class; they are members of one family.[62]

The Courier proudly reported the news when three Jewish manufacturers withdrew from the employers association's request for an anti-strike injunction.[63] But when Hebrew teachers struck, the Courier indignantly proclaimed:

> No true Jew or charitable organization in Chicago will contribute a broken penny for a Talmud Torah which is in the hands of trouble makers.... Oust these union teachers from the Marks Nathan Orphan Home![64]

Generally, the Courier held that labor and capital shared common interests, as "well-paid, well-rested, satisfied workers can accomplish more and produce more than badly paid, tired, embittered workers." But the growing Jewish labor movement emphasized the growing class cleavage, contending that "be the employer Jew or gentile, labor was engaged in a titanic struggle

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against the capitalistic system."[65]

The Yiddish-language working-class press became firmly established with the launching of the Yiddishe Arbeiter Welt (Yiddish Labor World) in 1908. The Arbeiter Welt, like the Yiddish labor press in general, sought to meld ethnic and class ties, and to incorporate those elements of the American tradition assimilable to this amalgam. When a rabbi declared for socialism, the editor praised him for "cling[ing] to the ancient Jewish law of Moses and the Prophets." Another 1918 editorial described Abraham Lincoln as "the Moses of the Negroes, whom he liberated from bondage in the American Egypt," though criticizing him for failing to raise a broader vision of social justice. Lincoln "appears small in comparison to such a great spiritual figure as Karl Marx, who introduced the prophecy of his ancient race and called the entire exploited mankind to freedom." But Lincoln towered in a country standing "at a low degree of spiritual development... a land of criss-crossed branches of foreign-culture trees that have developed into wild capitalistic thorns." The U.S. bourgeoisie, isolated from the poor and exploited masses, was more arrogant and vicious than capitalists anywhere else in the world.[66]

The interests of Jewish workers were identical both to those of other workers, and of the Jewish people. The Bakers Union, for example, not only won a living wage and shorter hours--it also forced more sanitary conditions, "saved its members from consumption... [and] made it possible for the public to eat more

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sanitary and more wholesome bread." When the depression hit, the union divided the available work among all its members.

> It always responded warmly and enthusiastically to the call of oppressed workers.... Each pound of bread bought from the non-union bakers is helping to destroy the union as well as to take away the means of existence of hundreds of Jewish families who have succeeded only through long years of struggle and sacrifice in reaching a better living.[67]

The Arbeiter Welt was supported by an extensive network of clubs and societies running the gamut from cultural and fraternal associations to women's clubs and political organizations.[68] Like other immigrant workers' papers, the Arbeiter Welt actively participated in its community. When Chicago garment workers (many of them Jewish) struck in 1910, the Arbeiter Welt collected and disbursed nearly $20,000 in strike relief funds, and briefly converted to daily publication. Arbeiter Welt editors spoke at union and socialist meetings, served as organizers and made their paper's columns available to the strikers. The paper resumed daily publication in 1917, became the Chicago edition of Vorwaerts (Forward) in 1919, and continued publication until 1951 (when the Chicago edition was incorporated into the New York paper). While many of the news columns and features in this latter period were written in New York, the Chicago edition carried extensive local material and maintained both editorial and printing facilities in the city.[69]

Vorwaerts was unlike other immigrant workers' papers, however, in that once it had been established it did not rely upon its community for financial support. It was self-sufficient

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from a very early date, being one of few labor papers to secure not only a substantial circulation but also extensive advertising. When Vorwaerts held fund-raising events the proceeds were distributed to Jewish charities, often in Europe. Each year the paper celebrated its anniversary by distributing part of its proceeds back to the community. In 1927 Vorwaerts distributed $4,000 to the Jewish Socialist Alliance, the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle, local nurseries, a sanitorium, the Cook County Socialist Party and other causes.[70]

While it was an integral part of a distinctly Jewish labor movement, Vorwaerts urged Jewish unions to join "A united political front on the ground of class struggle to gain political power.... as true strugglers for the interests of all workers." Thus the Jewish movement actively built the English-language movement, supporting efforts to launch an English-language labor daily. Similarly, in 1919 the paper endorsed the straight Socialist ticket under the heading, "Our Candidates of the Jewish Ward."[71]

Who Speaks For Labor?

By 1920, Chicago boasted four Yiddish-language dailies with a combined estimated circulation of 115,000 copies. The morning Jewish Call and Jewish Courier claimed to be politically independent, the evening Jewish Press backed the Republicans, while Vorwaerts was aligned with the city's Socialist and labor movements. Yet only the Courier and Vorwaerts seem to have enjoyed significant circulations.[72] A review of the Yiddish

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press published in 1931, when Ayer's Directory still listed the same four daily newspapers, spoke of "the army of writers who now wield the pen for the two Chicago Yiddish Dailies..." (though the Press and Call were referred to in the distant past tense).[73]

Both papers carried regular labor columns and announcements of union meetings, and eagerly seized every opportunity to portray their competitor as anti-labor. The Courier went so far as to support the Communists in the Workmen's Circle and the Amalgamated when their efforts to gain control over these organizations were thwarted by expulsions and other strong-arm tactics.[74] (The Courier also insisted that its competitor, while enjoying "a very large" circulation, was "not a Jewish paper but a Socialist one" which happened to be printed in Yiddish.[75])

Socialists, meanwhile, apologized for reminding their readers that the Courier and Press continued to exist. But they "must not forget that the reactionary elements in Jewish life are rich in material resources and are able to publish a paper even though it is despised by the Jewish masses." The Courier was particularly dangerous, controlling several charitable institutions and the entire Zionist movement.[76] Yiddish socialists explicitly rejected (at least in the early decades of the century) Zionist socialism--and Zionism in general--for "darken[ing] the class consciousness of the Jewish workers" by focusing on ethnic rather than class issues, and "develop[ing] a mistrust in the Socialist movement and in [their] own class struggle."[77]

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Conclusions

Chicago's Polish and Jewish communities were far from monolithic--joining a mutual aid society, attending an ethnic hall, or reading a newspaper was not merely a reaffirmation of ethnic identity; it raised broader issues of class, of religion, and of one's place in American society. Certainly the decision to subscribe to a newspaper or to join a mutual aid society was often made for reasons that went beyond specifically ideological concerns. Price, breadth and quality of coverage and the influence of friends and co-workers all figured in the mix. But when a Polish worker subscribed to _Dziennik Zjednoczenia_ he reaffirmed a commitment to the Church and its leading role; a subscription to _Dziennik Ludowy_ entailed a very different but equally singificant commitment.

Immigrant workers faced a choice between contrasting conceptions based upon class and ethnicity, each of which lent itself to different alliances, and different strategies. American-born workers faced similar choices--between nativism and internationalism, self-improvement and class struggle. Workers developed a sense of who they were, and of what sort of society they lived in, in the interplay between these options. These issues were particularly vital for foreign-language editors, and for the communities they served.

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NOTES:

1.Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, Volume 1 tables XV and XVI, Washington 1883; Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900, Volume 1 tables 35, 60, 24 and 23, Washington 1902; Fifteenth Census of the United States 1930, Volume III tables 15, 18 and 19, Washington 1932.

2.Ayer's Newspaper Annual, 1921; Gale Directory of Publications, 1990, Detroit 1990.

3.Joseph Nowack, "Polish Fraternal Organizations and their role in the Polish Community in Chicago," p.1, manuscript in Bessie Louise Pierce papers, box 149 folder 9; Edward Kantowicz, "Polish Chicago: Survival Through Solidarity," in Holli and d'A. Jones (eds.), The Ethnic Frontier, Grand Rapids 1977.

4.The Polish People's University was organized in 1908, offering lectures and courses in history, literature, natural science, and training classes. The University also housed the New Life choir and drama circle. Mary Cygan, "Political and Cultural Leadership in an Immigrant Community: Polish-American Socialism, 1880-1950." Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1989, pp. 61-62.

5.quoted by Edmunc Olszyk, The Polish Press in America, Milwaukee 1940, p. 17. For an overview of the role played by Polish fraternal orders see Frank Renkiewicz, "An Economy of Self-Help: Fraternal Capitalism and the Evolution of Polish America," in Ward et al., Studies in Ethnicity, Boulder 1980; and Renkiewicz, "The Profits of Nonprofit Capitalism," in Scott Cummings (ed.), Self-Help in Urban America, Port Washington 1980.

6.Nowack, "Polish Fraternal Organizations," Pierce papers box 149, folder 9; William Cates, "The Poles in Chicago," same folder; Jan Kowalik, The Polish Press in America, San Francisco 1978.

7.Narod Polski, Sept. 18 1901, CFLPS reel 50. The Catholic weekly was denouncing a new socialist organ.

8."The Polish Union Daily Helps the Strike Victims in Stockyards," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Feb. 15 1922, CFLPS reel 49.

9."From the Strike Front," Dziennik Chicagoski, Jan. 9 1922, CFLPS reel 49.

10."Strikes and the Poles in the United States," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, July 24 1922, CFLPS reel 49.

11."Socialism and Bolshevism," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Aug. 23 1922; "A Fight for the Spirit of the Ignorant Masses," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Sept. 23 1921; "Jews are the Spreaders of Bolshevism in America," Narod Polski, Aug. 17 1921, CFLPS reel 50. "Progroms of Negroes," Narod Polski, Aug. 6 1919; "Loathsome Jewish Attacks on Poland" (Hearst is a Jew), Narod Polski, Aug. 18 1920; Dziennik

Zwiazkowy, Oct. 20 1913, CFLPS reel 49. Chicago's Jewish community took these outbursts of anti-Semitic agitation quite seriously. See, e.g., "Incitement of Polish Press Flares Up Race Hatred in Chicago," Jewish Courier, May 28 1919, CFLPS reel 32.

12."Dedication of the Headquarters and Printing Establishment of Dziennik Zjednoczenia," Sept. 23 1921; "The Initial Number of Dziennik Zjednoczenia," Sept. 22 1921; "The Dziennik Zjednoczenia," Narod Polski, Sept. 14 1921; CFLPS reel 53.

13."Professional and Labor Organizations," Jan. 4 1911, CFLPS reel 49.

14."Friends and Enemies of the Working Man," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Oct. 25 1921, CFLPS reel 50; "Labor Day and Polish Labor in America," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Sept. 4 1926, CFLPS reel 56. Narod Polski similarly argued "The only means of changing this humiliating condition under which the majority of our brothers in factories live is the learning of the English language, putting our minds on a higher level, and educating ourselves to become skilled workers." ("Bosses," Dec. 18 1912, CFLPS reel 50)

15.Dziennik Zjednoczenia, "Capital, Labor and Society," Dec. 10 1921, CFLPS reel 49; "A Warning to Polish Strikers," Dec. 9 1921, CFLPS reel 49; May 12 1928, CFLPS reel 50.

16.Oct. 20 1913, CFLPS reel 49. "Bolshevism in America" (Zwiazkowy, Feb. 15 1919, CFLPS reel 50) called for government action against "this red plague.... conducted by the Jews... who are the brains of this movement." Another article referred to "the Jewish plague [which] has made itself felt for many years." "The Duties of Emigres Toward Free Poland," Zwiazkowy, Nov. 14 1914, CFLPS reel 58. But in 1916 the paper protested the British military's refusal to allow relief supplies into Poland. "Why are these miserable ones refused aid and left to suffer and die? Why? Because they are Jews! It is the deliberate plan of the cruel Russian autocracy to let these people perish.... Jew or Gentile, they are human beings... and our souls rebel against the thought that they should be left to perish in their agonies when we are so ready and so able to provide them with the means of life." "The Right to Aid War Sufferers," Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Feb. 26 1916, CFLPS reel 54. A week earlier (Feb. 17 1916) it asserted that "Britain has acted with commendable humanity" towards Poland.

17."Attention," May 7 1907, CFLPS reel 49. Twelve years later Dziennik Narodowi stated that all Polish papers were, with the exception of Ludowy "which constantly defends the Jew, agreed and strong against Jewish aggression." Quoted in Jewish Courier, May 25 1919, CFLPS reel 32.

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18."American Civilization," Dziennik Ludowy, April 4 1908, CFLPS reel 50. The American press, despite (increasingly endangered) free speech guarantees, was thoroughly corrupted and beholden to the capitalists. Such papers would not be missed, but "a loss of only one propagator of freedom, equality and brotherhood would be a great blow."

19.Mary Cygan, "Political and Cultural Leadership in an Immigrant Community: Polish-American Socialism, 1880-1950." Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1989, pp. 50-51.

20.Cygan, "Polish-American Socialists," pp. 47-50, 53.

21."Is Our Present-Day Working Man Better Off Than The Old-Time Slave?" Dziennik Ludowy, Aug. 11 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

22.A. Szturowski, "Where Is Hell?," Dziennik Ludowy, June 30 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

23.Dziennik Ludowy, "Polish Socialists in America," Nov. 10 1908; "Where is the Salvation of the Working People?" Oct. 30 1908; CFLPS reel 50.

24."The Results of Enlightenment," Dziennik Ludowy, Aug. 26 1908, CFLPS reel 55.

25."Demonstration of Polish Socialists," Dziennik Ludowy, Nov. 3 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

26.Cygan, "Polish American Socialism," p. 66.

27.Dziennik Ludowy, "A Sunday Demonstration," May 16 1907; "Attention, 16th and 28th Wards," March 21 1907; CFLPS reel 50.

28.Cygan, "Polish-American Socialism," pp. 70-115; M.B. Biskupski and Joseph Hapak, "The Polish National Defense Committee in America," Polish American Studies 44(2), Autumn 1987, pp. 70-75. This issue was controversial not only among Polish socialists; the entire Polish community was deeply divided between supporting Paderewski's pro-Entente (supported by the PNA and PRCU) and Pilsudski's (which ultimately prevailed in Warsaw) policies. During the controversy, Zwiazkowy (April 3 1917, July 16 1915, CFLPS reel 51) denounced the Socialists as pro-German--"They take their rusty doctrine out of their pockets only when it can serve as a convenient means of covering up their baseness"--and on the Austrian payroll.

29.Cygan, "Polish-American Socialists," pp. 80, 169 (note 45).

30.Zeb Zarnicki discusses his participation in various Socialist educational activities, and the importance of the various Polish newspapers within the community. His and other interviews make it

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clear that Poles had a wide variety of motives for participating in socialist, nationalist and religious organizations--and were not always cognizant of the doctrinal differences. Zarnicki, ZAR-121; "Anon" #089 (Panek); Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia, Chicago Historical Society.

31.Editorial, Feb. 4 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

32.Henry Anielewski to John Fitzpatrick, Feb. 14 1919; John Fitzpatrick Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

33."Who Shall Rule the City?" *Dziennik Ludowy*, April 1 1907, CFLPS reel 50.

34."Unionists Consider Aid for Chicago Polish Labor Daily," *The New Majority*, March 29 1924, p. 2; a half-page advertisement in *The New Majority* (Sept. 3 1921, p. 32) noted *Ludowy*'s role in producing the CFL organ; "Dressmakers Ask Schlessinger to Negotiate with Manufacturers" (Noted *Ludowy* editor among speakers), *Jewish Courier*, July 18 1919, CFLPS reel 33; "End of Dziennik Ludowy," *Vilnis*, April 28 1925, CFLPS reel 42. *Vilnis*, a communist organ, concluded that "Polish workers have discarded this treacherous daily and it has died. The working people have lost nothing... Rather, they have one fool less."

35.S. Orpiszewski, "The History of *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*," Jan. 15 1918, CFLPS reel 53.

36."Socialist 'Comrades,'" Nov. 3 1910, CFLPS reel 50; Renkiewicz, "An Economy of Self-Help," p. 77.

37."Labor Unions," Nov. 11 1911, CFLPS reel 49.

38."Then and Now," *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, Nov. 21 1913, CFLPS reel 51.

39.Thaddeus Radzialowski, "'Let Us Join Hands': The Polish Women's Alliance." In Maxine Seller (ed.), *Immigrant Women*, Philadelphia 1981, pp. 178-79.

40."Unionists Don't Care to Read the Zgoda," *Dziennik Ludowy*, August 17 1907, CFLPS reel 49.

41."How to Oppose Foes of the Polish National Alliance," *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, Nov. 14 1910; "Socialists and the Polish National Alliance," *Zwiazkowy*, Dec. 12 1910; CFLPS reel 55.

42."The Socialists and Labor," *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, Dec. 5 1910, CFLPS reel 55. No specifics to substantiate the charge of misappropriation of funds were provided, though the article did condemn the socialists for "extorting about six hundred dollars from the poor workers" to defend a socialist editor "who under the cloak of Labor committed some debauchery, and against whom even the

Government is forced to take drastic measures." This is a reference to an anti-clerical cartoon discussed in note 78, below.

43.Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Sept. 4 1914, CFLPS reel 50; Nov. 11 1910, CFLPS reel 49; Dec. 12 1910, CFLPS reel 49.

44.Although the oldest Chicago Polish daily, its circulation was well behind Dziennik Zwiaskowy's. The fifth Polish daily published in 1920 was the Republican Dziennik Narodowy, established in 1899 according to Ayer. Virtually no information is available for this paper, despite its apparent 30 years of publication.

45.See, e.g., "News in Chicagoski," Dziennik Chicagoski, Jan. 11 1922, CFLPS reel 53. This editorial boasted that Chicagoski printed more news, refused to print "asininities" submitted by its readers (even if other papers did), published the latest news from Poland (received by mail) and U.S. and international news culled from its exchanges, and printed a variety of features including serialized novels, a history of the United States, and Women's, Children's and Science departments. A month earlier ("The Oldest and the Newest," Dec. 3 1921, CFLPS reel 53) it defended itself against a charge of padding the dates on foreign news, explaining that the dateline indicated not when an event happened, but rather "when the news was received by that particular paper," arguing that the Herald and Examiner followed the very same practice.

46."A Few Words About the Strike," May 10 1895, CFLPS reel 50.

47."Unions and Strikes," May 19 1897, CFLPS reel 50; "The Labor Front," Feb. 22 1922, CFLPS reel 49; Association of Polish Printers 546 I.T.U., "Attention, Printers of Dziennik Chicagoski!," Dziennik Ludowy, Jan. 29 1908, CFLPS reel 50. Chicagoski did argue that Poles "for our own good and for the preservation of our honor, [should] have left the role of scabs, the drudges of capitalism, to the Negroes and the Chinese." (July 27 1893, CFLPS reel 50)

48.A. Melin, "What Our Citizens Think of the Attacks by Dziennik Polski on St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish," Jan. 9 1896; "From the Strike Front," Jan. 9 1922; July 9 1892; Chicagoski, CFLPS reel 49.

49."Telegrams," Bicz Bozy (God's Whip), April 21 1912, CFLPS reel 48. Bicz Bozy was an anti-clerical socialist weekly which blasted the clergy at every opportunity. (Cates, op cit.) When five murderers were hung, Bicz Bozy noted "The Chicago Blinder lost five readers last week... If this shall continue, then the Chicago Blinder will run short of readers. For practical reasons, for there is no use of even dreaming of humanitarianism, these gentlemen should join the anti-capital punishment movement." ("Dziennik Chicagoski," Feb. 4 1912, CFLPS reel 53)

In 1910, Chicago catholics brought an obscenity indictment against the Polish People's Publishing Co. for a cartoon depicting a priest carrying a nun (both in full clerical garb) over the caption "Porwanie Sabinek" (Abduction of the Sabines). Judge Landis rejected a demurrer, but the trial judge directed a verdict of not guilty. (Theodore Schroeder, "Prosecuted for 'Obscenity,'" Truth Seeker, April 29 1911, p. 266) An article in Dziennik Zwiazkowy (Dec. 5 1910, CFLPS reel 50) charged that the socialists raised nearly $600 to defend themselves in court on charges of "using the mails to distribute their obscenely illustrated periodical."

50.A.K., "Warning to the Poles," Dziennik Chicagoski, Feb. 12 1894, CFLPS reel 50.

51."Religious Indifference," Dziennik Chicagoski, July 25 1892, CFLPS reel 57.

52.Dziennik Chicagoski, March 1 1892, CFLPS reel 57. Dziennik Zjednoczenia similarly equated "true Polish patriotism" and "good Catholicism," arguing that its critics "care more for the pocketbooks than the souls of their adherents." "The Press About Our Newspaper," Oct. 19 1921, CFLPS reel 53. Yet many members did not share this antagonism. Political activist Joseph Ruszkiewicz was one of many Poles who belonged to both the Union and the Alliance. (Dziennik Zjednoczenia, March 31 1923, CFLPS reel 58)

53."Is the Zgoda a Polish Paper?" Dziennik Chicagoski, Feb. 23 1897, CFLPS reel 53.

54."What the So-Called Polish Socialists Think of Polish Nationalism," Dziennik Chicagoski, Feb. 6 1896, CFLPS reel 50. The bulk of the article was devoted to extracts from a debate in a Polish Socialist Party journal on alliances with Polish nationalists.

55."Poor Poland," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Jan. 11 1922, CFLPS reel 58. The article reprints and comments upon an article reprinted in the Chicago Socialist "from the Jewish paper, The Nation." The original article concluded, "The original plan of Clemenceau, to fence off the Russian bolsheviks with a barbed wire fence, has fallen. Now Poland proposes a wall of gallows."

56.Martha Wojciechowski, for example, concluded that she had been better off in Poland. In Chicago rents were higher, and wages low--though conditions did improve after the war. Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia. For an annotated bibliography of Polish labor and socialist periodicals see: Jan Wepsiec, "Poles," in: Dirk Hoerder (ed.), Immigrant Labor Press, Westport 1987, volume II.

57."A Stroll in the Chicago Sweat Shops," Labor World, Sept. 4 1908, CFLPS reel 33.

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58."Why the Workmen's Circle (benefit society) Must Carry on Independent Workers' Education," Daily Jewish Forward, Sept. 1 1921, CFLPS reel 31.

59."Workers Ghetto," Courier, Oct. 12 1909; "Workers Ghetto," Courier, March 25 1914; Courier, Oct. 1 1912; CFLPS reel 33.

60."The Workers Ghetto," Courier, Nov. 4 1908, CFLPS reel 34. The letter was printed the day after the meeting, "We are not in a position" to run it earlier was the only explanation provided.

61."The Red Bogeyman," Courier, April 30 1923; Courier, Oct. 4 1920; "Meditations of the Day," Courier, May 31 1923; CFLPS reel 33. Similarly, the Courier published an article (Edwards, "Workman's Interests," July 9 1919, CFLPS 33) supporting an attempted general strike to free Mooney and Billings, closing with the hope that unions would free themselves of Gompers' conservative policies. See, also, "Mooney Committee Says One Hundred Thousand on Strike in Chicago," Courier, July 8 1919.

62."Heard and Seen," Courier, Jan. 19 1913, CFLPS reel 33.

63."Jewish Sweater Manufacturers Withdraw From Injunction," Courier, Aug. 1 1919, CFLPS reel 33.

64.Courier, May 25 1919; Courier, May 25 1919; Daily World, Sept. 25 1918; Forward, May 30 1919; CFLPS reel 33.

65."The Duty of Capital," Courier, July 9 1919, CFLPS reel 34; Seymour Ponirenz, "Aspects of Chicago Russian Jewish Life, 1893-1915," Unpublished manuscript in Bessie Louise Pierce papers, Chicago Historical Society, Box 149 folder 8. The Labor World ("The Bakers Union is Successful," Nov. 20 1908, CFLPS reel 33) regularly criticized the Courier, e.g., for keeping silent about bakery workers' efforts to win better conditions and employers' efforts to force up the price of bread--"fear[ing]... [they] would lose the Matzoh advertisements."

66."A Socialist Rabbi," Daily World, April 27 1918, CFLPS reel 33; "Abraham Lincoln," Daily World, Feb. 12 1918, CFLPS reel 34.

67."The Blessing of Union Bread," Forward, March 2 1931, CFLPS reel 33.

68."Thousands Extend Greetings to the First Edition of the World," Daily World, Oct. 15 1917; "Jewish Socialist Publishing Association Already Organized," Daily World, Oct. 22 1917, CFLPS reel 35. The Association included representatives from the Jewish Socialist Alliance, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Workmen's Circle (mutual benefit society). Its Constitution was published in the World Nov. 10 1917 (CFLPS reel 33); besides the three founding organizations, recognized labor organizations could join the

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Association, as could individuals who were members in good-standing of the Socialist Part and the union (if any) of their trade. Members paid quarterly dues and met twice monthly to supervise the paper's affairs. See, also, Forward, Jan. 2 1924, Oct. 2 1920, Sept. 24 1920, April 19 1919, Sept. 17 1919, Jan. 3 1932; L.B. Bailin, "The Jewish Socialist Singing Society," Chicago Hebrew Institute Observer, Dec. 1916; CFLPS reel 35.

69. Ida Selaven, "Jews," in: Hoerder, Immigrant Labor Press, volume II, pp. 662, 665; Morris Ziskind, "The Jewish Labor Movement in Chicago," Forward, April 23 1922, CFLPS reel 33.

70. "In Honor of 30th Anniversary," Forward, May 2 1927; "People's Relief Bazaar Closes With More than $15,000 Profit," Forward, Dec. 24 1923; CFLPS reel 35. See, similarly, Forward, April 12 1928, CFLPS reel 35; Aug. 5 1921, CFLPS reel 33. Editor Abraham Cahan ("Our Thirtieth Anniversary," Forward, May 1 1927, CFLPS 35) noted that the funds to establish the paper were scraped together from Jewish workers "who gave up their bank accounts, engagement rings and trinkets... Today the Forward has a circulation of more than 200,000 copies daily, devoting much of its profits to the labor movement..."

The Courier charged that these contributions went not to worthy philanthropic and cultural institutions, but only to groups allied to the Socialists. "The Ford-Ward thus gives charity to itself and it bluffs the people into believing that it gives charity to the poor and helpless. Henry Ford also gives such charity." (S.M. Melamed, "Ford-Ward Celebrates Fifth Anniversary," Courier, Jan. 4 1924, CFLPS reel 35) The Courier called Vorwaerts the Ford-Ward because it carried Ford auto ads while Ford's Dearborn newspaper published anti-Semitic articles. See, e.g., Courier, Jan. 6 1924, CFLPS reel 35. It also accused Forward of carrying patent medicine ads and selling its columns "for small change." "A $48 Miracle Worker and the 'Bintel' Paper," Courier, Feb. 17 1922, CFLPS reel 35. "People read the "Ford-Ward" just as they read the Chicago Star, a pornographic sheet which reports scandalous stories that no decent newspaper would print. The Ford-Ward would go out of business within forty-eight hours if it ceased its pornographic activity." (S.M. Melamed, "Mr. Henry Ford's Ads," Courier. Jan. 9 1924, CFLPS reel 35.

71. Forward, March 29 1919, June 5 1921, June 22 1922, CFLPS reel 34; May 1 1921, May 18 1921, May 21 1921, CFLPS reel 35. Over $2000 was reported in contributions for the daily from the Amalgamated, Fur Union and Workmen's Circle, not including receipts from a bazaar. It is not clear whether it was to be a Socialist, Labor Party, or Communist organ.

An afternoon May Day program sponsored by the Cloak, Skirt & Dressmakers Union included speakers in English, Polish and Yiddish, songs by the Freicheit Singing Society, and solo recitations and a violinist. "Sisters and Brothers, Come! Let us all together show our proletarian solidarity on May Day." Forward, April 30 1923,

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CFLPS reel 33.

72.Ayer's Newspaper Annual, 1921. In addition, Ayer listed three weekly Yiddish papers. Forward (May 14 1921, CFLPS reel 35), however, challenged these figures: "Chicago has seven Jewish newspapers, besides those coming from New York. We have made this discovery by observing the N.W. Ayer and Sons American Newspaper Annual.... The Jewry of Chicago know that half of these newspapers are not in existence, and that the second half does not have the circulation they assert, but some inexperienced gentile advertisers are unaware of this, and they therefore patronize these newspapers. They print a half dozen copies on the day they receive an advertisement, forward one copy to the advertiser, and the others are kept in reserve, in case an advertiser requests another copy. The news and articles of these newspapers are always the same; therefore they have no expenses and as much as they receive is a total profit..." The article did not name the offending papers, though it did challenge the Courier's circulation claim--maintaining that Vorwaerts sold twice as many copies in Chicago as all other Yiddish papers combined. The Forward regularly challenged the Courier's circulation claims, offering a $5000 reward to anyone proving it had more than a third of its claimed circulation, or that its paid Chicago circulation was as much as half the Forward's. See, e.g., Nov. 5 1921, CFLPS reel 35; "The Truth About the Courier Circulation," Forward, May 15 1922, CFLPS reel 32. The latter includes an affidavit from a former Courier circulation man.

No doubt many circulation claims were severely inflated, though it seems unlikely that there could be sufficient profit in the scheme outlined above to make it viable. Quite possibly some of these papers circulated only in particular neighborhoods or no longer published quite as frequently as claimed. The Courier referred ("The Fight Against the Foreign Language Press," June 13 1919, CFLPS reel 34) to two "local corner sheets" with such small circulation that no one was aware of their existence.

73.Philip Bregstone, "Wielders of the Pen," The Reform Advocate, June 13 1931, CFLPS reel 35. This article included biographical sketches of 14 writers for the two papers, though concentrating on the Courier staff on the grounds that although the Courier was more conservative politically, it gave its writers greater freedom to express themselves.

74.A. Hamerman, "The Storm That is Raging in the Workmen's Circle," Courier, Feb. 27 1924, CFLPS reel 36; "Editor of Forward Receives a Cold Reception at the Amalgamated Convention; Olgin Will Address the Convention Today," Courier, May 11 1922, CFLPS reel 33. But July 3 1921 (CFLPS 33), the Courier editorialized that "the Soviet form of government is fundamentally bad."

The Courier also welcomed labor disputes at its rival. See, e.g., S.M. Melamed, "The Strike Against the Ford-Ward," Courier, Jan. 4 1922, CFLPS reel 33; A. Hamerman, "The Ford-Ward Strike Was

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an Interesting Lesson," Courier, Jan. 2 1924, CFLPS reel 33; "Workers' Enemies Incite a Conspiracy Against the Forward," Forward, Dec. 29 1923. This dispute arose when news dealers demanded an increase on their commission to 20 percent, and refused to wait until a committee authorized to negotiate arrived from New York. Shortly after the World commenced daily publication, it reported that the Courier was sending its news-boys out to prevent news-stand operators from carrying the paper. "Jewish Courier Threatens the Friends of the World," Daily World, Oct. 17 1917, CFLPS reel 35.

The Courier, too, had labor troubles. The Labor World reported (Jan. 25 1908, CFLPS reel 35) that its typesetters were forced to work on Saturdays and other religious holidays. Newsdealers briefly struck the Courier in 1913 ("To Our Friends," Courier, Feb. 21 1913, CFLPS reel 35), while its typesetters struck in 1920 ("Jewish Compositors Break Union Rules," Courier, Oct. 12 1920, CFLPS reel 33). The Courier explained that it paid higher wages than did the Tribune and other English-language papers, and that the union contract required arbitration. "The Courier is the only Jewish newspaper in Chicago that employs only union members in all departments, from the compositors to the drivers who deliver the newspaper."

75."The Fight Against the Foreign Language Press," Courier, June 13 1919, CFLPS reel 34. The Courier denied, however, that "the Jewish Socialist paper" was disloyal. "We find it more conservative than the Socialist newspapers printed in English... its Socialist principles are economic rather than political." The article argued against government suppression of the foreign language press, suggesting that papers be licensed instead. "Naturally a license would be issued only to persons who are trustworthy and upon whom the government can definitely depend."

76."The Courier's Progroms on Jews," Daily World, Jan. 8 1918, CFLPS reel 35; "Courier Publishes False Statement About the Cloakmakers Union," Forward, Sept. 26 1922, CFLPS reel 32; "Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit and Dress Workers Union Condemns Courier for Publishing Lies," Forward, Oct. 1 1922, CFLPS reel 33.

77.Forward, May 22 1919; "Bund Committee," Labor World, Nov. 20 1908; CFLPS reel 32. The Zionists were not even good Jews: "Zionism became a weapon against justice and peace... It is no accident that the leading political reactionary, the editor of Halsted Street (Courier) is the chairman.... The Zionist leaders... [are] thoroughly assimilated. They neither teach their children Yiddish nor Hebrew. Their entire Judaism is limited to the reactionary periodical... through which they seek to buy and sell the Jewish vote..." "The Results of the Zionist Convention in Chicago," Daily World, Jan. 3 1917, CFLPS reel 34.

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The Role of Government in Global Media Flows: The Commerce Department and Hollywood Exports, 1921-33

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The Role of Government in Global Media Flows: The Commerce Department and Hollywood Exports, 1921-33

This study discusses the role governments play in reinforcing international media flows by examining the assistance given by the Department of Commerce to the motion-picture industry in the 1920s. It discusses the activities of the department's Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce against the background of a general U.S. foreign policy that viewed America's dominant cultural and economic position after World War I as an instrument for achieving goals like international peace and economic stability.

Promotion of exports was a vital part of that foreign policy, and here the role of motion pictures was clear: they advertised other American-made goods, and they brought the ideas and spirit of the United States to other countries. Consequently, Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce under both Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, considered a good relationship with the film industry important.

To that end, Hoover created a motion-picture unit within the BFDC in the mid-1920s. Headed by C.J. North, the Motion Picture Section began by furnishing commercial information collected by U.S. commercial attachés, trade commissioners and consuls abroad and distributed it through a variety of channels to individual companies, and, above all, to the dominant trade association, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, also called the Hays Organization.

As European countries, which were the major foreign markets for Hollywood films, began to consider import restrictions after 1925, the BFDC's service to the industry took new forms. With increasing frequency, Bureau officials stationed abroad represented American film companies before foreign governments. Due to confusion and a lack of unity among the companies, commercial attachés and trade commissioners also came to take on a leadership role, urging the American film industry to act as in unity when faced with import restrictions. While U.S. diplomats often were effective leaders, they frequently voiced complaints about the lack of a coherent foreign policy on the part of Hollywood producers.

The study concludes that the U.S. government definitely considered motion-picture exports important in the 1920s but that its assistance was limited in nature. When the Hays Organization finally began to assert its leadership among film exporters in the 1930s, the role of the government diminished considerably.

Most important of all, however, was the fact that Hollywood was in no great need of government assistance. By the time North was put in charge of his section in 1925, American films already dominated the screen to the extent that 80-95 percent of all films shown were from the United States.

The Role of Government in Global Media Flows: The Commerce Department and Hollywood Exports, 1921-33

In discussions of international media flows, the role governments play in reinforcing these flows has received little attention.[1] Two leading critics of American mass media exports, Herbert Schiller and Cees Hamelink, imply that the success of American companies abroad is due at least in part to assistance from the U.S. government, but their argument is never fully developed. Without providing examples, Hamelink briefly mentions "the active collaboration between the communications industry and North American political, financial and military circles," while Schiller bases his discussion of "direct intervention" by the U.S. government on one anecdotal example, the alleged involvement of the CIA in the military coup in Chile in 1973.[2]

Such general statements are of little value when it comes to understanding what part, if any, the American government has played in the evident success of American film and television producers across the globe today. To deal with that question in a more satisfactory manner, this study focuses on a more consistent and well-documented attempt by the U.S. government to aid mass media exports, the assistance given by the Department of Commerce to the motion-picture industry in the 1920s.[3]

Delegated to the Department's Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the government's policy of aiding the Hollywood studios in foreign markets is of interest because it took place as American entertainment media were laying the foundations for their current global prominence. The silent films which Hollywood began distributing around the world in the 1920s introduced international audiences to American-produced mass culture and captured foreign markets not only for future motion pictures but also, decades later, for television entertainment from the United States.

The Bureau's work has previously been discussed briefly by film and media historians interested in the success of American motion pictures abroad. Ian Jarvie's treatment is the most extensive, but his attention is ultimately focused on the film industry itself.[4] While looking at the work of the Bureau against the background of Hollywood's worldwide ascendancy in the 1920s, this study is concerned primarily with the Bureau and how its activities fit into the general U.S. policy of the time.

The American foreign policy of the 1920s was for a long time characterized as isolationist, as a withdrawal from the active role the country had taken during World War I. Traditional histories have seen that isolationism as paradoxical and clearly at odds with the financial, commercial and cultural power that America found itself wielding in Europe and elsewhere in the world at the end of the war.[5]

More recently, however, historians have reevaluated the foreign policy of the three Republican administrations of the 1921-1933 period and seen a definite link between government policy and the strong position of American finance, industry and mass culture abroad. For presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, that position was an instrument to be used to achieve the general and vital foreign-policy goals of preventing war and promoting economic and political stability.[6]

Convinced that the rest of the world would benefit from American products and business practices, the U.S. government made it one of its main priorities to promote American trade abroad. Such government assistance to exporters dated back to the turn of the century and thus was not an invention of the 1920s, but it intensified after World War I and became more visible in the absence of more direct political intervention by the United States in international affairs.[7]

It was also given a great deal of weight through Herbert Hoover's tenure as secretary of commerce in the cabinets of both Harding and Coolidge. Hoover brought to his post as head of the Commerce Department a great deal of international experience and recognition, and in the Harding administration his influence on foreign policy equalled that of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes.[8]

In the Commerce Department, foreign-trade promotion was the main responsibility of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and that agency's importance had already been recognized by William C. Redfield, Hoover's predecessor in the Wilson administration, under whom the Bureau was substantially enlarged and came to include commercial attachés and trade commissioners, officers permanently stationed abroad.[9]

Hoover expanded the Bureau further and picked as its director Julius Klein, a former Harvard instructor and commercial attaché in Argentina. Under Hoover and Klein, the number of foreign offices grew from 23 in 1921 to 58 in 1927, and the Bureau's total staff quadrupled.[10] The new commerce secretary also made certain that trade promotion became the responsibility of his department rather than State. Rivalry between the two services caused some friction in the early 1920s, but the abolishment of the State Department Office of the Foreign Trade Adviser in 1921 and the permanent establishment of a foreign service of the BFDC in 1927 settled the issue in favor of Commerce.[11]

Another of Hoover's major initiatives was the reorganization of the BDFC into divisions according to major export commodities, a change instituted in 1921 after the new secretary had consulted extensively with business and industry leaders. The Bureau's growing involvement with the export of films in the 1920s is clearly evident in the ascendancy of motion pictures from an undefined status within the Specialities Division first to a section in that division in 1925 and finally to a division in its own right in 1929, taking its place among such important American exports as machinery, minerals, automobiles, textiles, chemicals and electrical products.[12]

The industry that the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce began paying particular attention to in the early 1920s was already hugely successful abroad. The World War I years had witnessed a major American push into foreign markets, although, as Kristin Thompson notes, deliberate attempts by U.S. producers to challenge European competitors in the world market dated back to 1909. Just before war broke out in Europe, films from the United States were in a strong position in both Britain and Germany, for instance, and they were also popular in Australia and New Zealand.[13]

In the course of the world war, American distributors moved aggressively to exploit markets not only in Europe but also in Latin America. By 1918, American magazines were declaring that American films were "encircling the globe" and dominating the import markets in Britain, France and Italy. After the end of the war, U.S. predominance remained a fact. Producer George Kleine noted "an enormous demand for American films in the foreign market" in 1919, and the following year, a Goldwyn manager claimed that there was "no disputing the pre-eminence of America as the producing center of the world." In 1921, *Scientific American* noted that films from the United States had "gained first place" in Great Britain, Western Europe and South America.[14]

Such general impressions were confirmed by the official trade statistics of the Department of Commerce and by reports from individual countries made by U.S. consular officers, both of which were eagerly publicized in the trade press. U.S. exports of motion pictures grew by 120 percent in volume and 70 percent in dollar value from 1918 to 1920, according to figures published in the *Moving Picture World,* which also related consular reports about how popular American films were in various countries. In 1923, one of the officials of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce surveyed field reports from abroad and was stricken by "the way America dominates the motion picture market nearly everywhere."[15]

The consular reports that the *World* ran appeared regularly in the Commerce Department's own publications, and from these it is evident that the U.S. government had taken an interest in the exports of motion pictures long before the Harding administration. The Department's *Daily Consular and Trade Reports* published its first reports on foreign motion-picture markets as early as 1910, and from then and until the outbreak of World War I, *Daily Consular and Trade Reports* ran 100 reports and short notices, covering 31 countries and colonies. Its successor, *Commerce Reports,* intensified the coverage during the second half of the 1910s and published close to 150 items about 52 different nations and colonies.[16]

Contributed by the State Department's consuls in capitals and major cities around the world, the reports discussed audience tastes, the condition of theaters, import duties, government censorship, and other information of interest to potential exporters in the United States. The way in which this information was gathered is evident from a 1916 memo from the State Department, which instructed consuls to report on the number of theaters, the identity of distributors, distribution fees, possible improvements that U.S. producers could make, and the general popularity of motion pictures.[17]

It is evident, then, that government assistance to American exporters of motion pictures did not begin with Hoover and Klein but had a rather long history in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. What happened during the 1920s was that this assistance was, gradually, given method and structure, and, in some cases, took new forms.[18] It was also provided with a definite, if somewhat general, philosophy.

The third decade of this century was one of extraordinary foreign expansion for both American industry and American communications, and policymakers tended to view the two as intertwined. That was particularly true of Herbert Hoover, who in a 1927 speech called the motion picture "the most penetrating and persuasive of all . . . methods of world communication." One of its main purposes was to stimulate trade, according to the secretary of commerce, who, when he testified before a Senate committee in 1925, stressed that the success enjoyed by the American film industry abroad bore "very materially on the expansion of the sale of other goods throughout Europe and other countries."[19]

Putting his superior's view into practice, Klein declared in 1923 that the Bureau was "becoming more and more interested in the trade promoting possibilities of American film." In a 1929 book, *Frontiers of Trade,* he thought that Hollywood films had "started a regular prairie-fire for American specialities," pointing to steadily rising U.S. exports of swimwear, office equipment, clothes, automobiles, vending machines and refrigerators. "The South American business man sees a film of a Wall Street magnate in the midst of batteries of adding machines, calculators, new-fangled filing devices, and multigraph apparatus, and he immediately resolves to surround himself with the same scenery of opulence."[20]

The theme of Latin Americans captivated by American goods had previously appeared in a 1923 editorial written by Klein for *Commerce Reports,* where he introduced an Argentinean couple where the man admired the clothes worn by the male stars and is wife was "in rapt contemplation of the leading woman's gowns." The editorial concluded that "the result of the matter is that two prosperous residents of Buenos Aires now purchase their clothes in New York rather than Paris."[21]

While generating an interest in American goods was an important function of the motion picture, it was not the only one, for Hoover also saw films as an unsurpassed way to acquaint citizens of other countries with American nature and the U.S. way of life, to transmit "intellectual ideas and national ideals" from one nation to another. Writing for the *Independent* in 1926, Clarence Jackson North claimed that "through American motion pictures, the ideals, culture, customs and traditions of the United States are gradually undermining those of other countries," carrying out a "subtle Americanization process."[22]

North's point of view is of interest here, for to him the BFDC had assigned the task of overseeing its assistance to American motion-picture abroad. Although a relatively low-level official, North was to have primary responsibility for facilitating exports of

American motion pictures, and his tenure was long: with the exception of a few months' absence in 1924-25, he was the "motion-picture specialist" in the BFDC from 1924 to 1933.[23]

North's involvement began when he was an editorial assistant in the Bureau's Specialties Division in 1924 and initially consisted of relating general statistics and reports from abroad to the industry and answer its questions through consultations with other Bureau divisions. A newcomer to the field, he "worked up a tremendous interest in motion pictures" and was spending "as much of my spare time as possible learning about them both from a production and a distribution viewpoint."[24]

When North was temporarily reassigned to other duties in the fall of 1924, Specialities Division Chief Warren Hoagland proceeded to outline the kind of information that the Bureau would gather: "New laws and restrictions, actual or threatened; the activities of local producers; censorship regulations, particularly changes; combinations or re-alignments of film distributors or theater owners; new theatre construction or consolidations; changes in the attitude of the public or the exhibitors toward American and foreign productions, any action threatened, either governmental or public, which would prove inimical to American pictures." Although similar to some extent to the circular sent out by the State Department eight years earlier, Hoagland"s memo asked for more specific information, and it also took into account the dominant position of American films. It was also significant that it went out to the Commerce Department's own foreign officers rather than to the consuls of the State Department.[25]

When North was put "directly in charge" of the Bureau's "motion picture work" in the spring of 1925, it was the hope of his superiors that the result would be "closer co-operation with the motion picture industry and the maximum of service to it." In that spirit, North immediately asked permission to attend some of the weekly meetings of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, the so-called Hays Organization. Its Foreign Manager Frederick Herron seemed reluctant to allow that but promised to let him "sit in with some of the foreign managers in their own offices."[26]

To North, it was important that communication between the government and the industry should flow both ways. He stressed early on to the Hays Organization that he was "particularly anxious to have us keep pace with the increased activities your members are taking in foreign fields" and asked for export statistics and lists of company offices abroad. In 1925, he had the Bureau send questionnaires concerning the foreign business of American companies both to the MPPDA and the Independent Motion Picture Producers and Distributors in order to generate reliable statistics.[27]

As North began to establish routines for his work, Secretary Hoover decided, after consultations with Hays, to put his department's aid to the American film industry on a more permanent footing by giving motion pictures its own section within Specialities. The move generated a great deal of interest in the trade press, where the creation of the section was said to involve both added funding from Congress and increased staff resources. That did not come about, however, and in the end, the main purpose of making North the head of a section appeared to be to bring the new agency to the attention of the trade press and Congress.[28]

The interest of the MPPDA in creating a special unit concerned with motion pictures within the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic commerce testified to the increasingly close relationship between the trade association and the Bureau. The 1922 formation of the Hays Organization--named after its president Will Hays--simplified industry contact for the U.S. government, since it meant that the BFDC official responsible for films would deal with a centralized bureaucracy on the industry side. In the case of North, his counterpart in the Hays Organization thus was Frederick Herron, head of the association's foreign department. Although the Bureau did deal with other trade associations and answer queries from individual companies, the bulk of North's industry contact was with Herron.[29]

Before the establishment of the BFDC-MPPDA relationship, the Bureau's industry contacts had exhibited a more haphazard pattern, originating with the regional offices rather than the agency's Washington headquarters. Thus, producer George Kleine was approached by the Chicago District Office in 1921, which invited him to "call at this office at some time" to obtain information about government service to exporters. All of Kleine's subsequent communication went through that office.[30]

Most of the Bureau's contact with the Hays Organization was concerned with commercial information, the kind of BFDC service that went back to the early 1910s, made possible, as North put it, by "forty offices in the capitals or commercial centers of nearly every country in the world" and the "valuable assistance from the more than 400 consular officials of the Department of State."[31] In addition to distributing that information through traditional channels such as *Commerce Reports,* North personally sent Herron reports, many of them confidential, on an almost weekly basis. At the request of the MPPDA he also had the State Department continue to request motion-picture information from its consuls, in the manner practiced since 1916, from countries not covered by Commerce's own foreign service. North also met with company representatives to ascertain what specific information they were seeking.[32]

The fact that the Bureau was attempting to supply information to an industry that had already penetrated foreign markets to a substantial degree sometimes led to a curious relationship between the BFDC and the MPPDA. In markets where Hollywood was firmly established, such as Canada, Australia and Britain, the Motion Picture Section frequently acknowledged that its information in all probability was inferior to what the industry itself had at its disposal or could gather within the Hays Organization.[33]

Perhaps the best illustration of the often entangled information exchange between industry and government occurred in 1928, when the Hollywood-based producer wing of the Hays Organization approached the Los Angeles BFDC Office wanting information of foreign censorship of American films. Although he was eager to make the Bureau's services more known, North nonetheless had to agree with the BFDC officers abroad that the only source of that information was the European distribution branches of the MPPDA member companies themselves. Still, North was able to come up with a proposal that involved the government: the Hollywood representatives in Europe would report to the local BFDC offices, which would transmit the information to Washington. From there, North would send it to California.[34]

Although the Bureau thus supplied information which the industry seemingly already had, it is clear that the Hays Organization valued what the government provided. Hays himself praised the "knowledge of general film conditions" among trade commissioners and commercial attachés and their valuable contacts, and North's impression was that there was general agreement among MPPDA members that the Bureau's reports had "the great virtue of absolute impartiality and that they contain concrete suggestions which are timely"; in contrast to the companies' own European representatives, commercial attachés and trade commissioners did not have to worry about losing their jobs if they produced pessimistic market forecasts.[35]

Thus reassured of the value of government information, North from 1925 on built up an extensive system for distributing that information to the film industry. He continued to publish motion-picture items and reports in *Commerce Reports*, but they were also gathered for more comprehensive publications dealing specifically with the industry, so-called foreign market bulletins and trade information bulletins. Moreover, North had early on established a close relationship with the motion-picture trade press, and by 1927 his section was sending it a weekly press release.[36]

The most important result of the press-government contact was a joint effort initiated in 1926, the annual publication of detailed statistics and other information from most countries of the world in the yearbook put out by the *Film Daily*. In exchange for a brief section promoting the service of the Commerce Department to the motion-picture industry, North instructed the Bureau's representatives abroad to engage in extensive gathering of commercial information, such as film legislation and names of domestic distributors, trade journals and theater chains.[37]

In securing such information, North was aided immensely by the 1926 appointment of George Canty as a trade commissioner based in Europe and dealing exclusively with the motion-picture industry. One of Canty's major tasks was, in North's words, to set up "a definite reporting system from the different offices," and the new trade commissioner did exactly that by functioning as a central clearinghouse for information that he then sent on to Washington and by assigning individual clerks--where staffing permitted it--to cover film-related matters. In addition, Canty, who was a Commerce Department employee at the time of his appointment but had experience from the trade press, produced a huge number of reports himself.[38]

Yet his mission went beyond simply gathering information. When the creation of a BFDC motion-picture section was brought up before a Senate sub-committee in 1925, it was clear that Hoover and Klein (as well as some of the senators) wanted the $15,000 appropriation they sought to cover the establishment of Canty's position, a post that Hoover described as requiring "a man on the road all the time." As a justification, the secretary and the Bureau director pointed to an increasingly hostile attitude toward American films among European governments in the mid-1920s.[39]

Hollywood's dominance of the world's screens was becoming a source of concern, and in 1925, the government of Germany led the way by establishing import quotas as a way to protect domestic production. Within the next three years, seven more countries took similar action, among them such major markets for American films as Britain and France. Hollywood, declared the *New York Times* in 1928, had "a foreign war" on its hands.[40]

Both the American film industry and the U.S. government were worried, as is evident from the the comments surrounding the establishment of the Motion-Picture Section. Closer government attention to the foreign trade in motion pictures was necessary, according to the *Moving Picture World*, because European countries were "alarmed by the increasing popularity of American films" and were pondering import barriers, and U.S. Sen. Reed Smooth warned that there was "an effort on the part of foreign countries to interfere with that business of ours."[41]

From Europe, MPPDA representative Oscar Solbert reported that "every nation is groping around for some method to keep our pictures out." By early 1926, North was instructing all of the Bureau's European offices to follow film legislation very closely, and the appointment of Canty later that year was followed by an explanation by Klein to the offices that the new trade commissioner would work to "uncover the official source of agitation against American films and to do what he can to minimize its effects."[42]

As a result, the Department of Commerce foreign service gradually began to play a more active, if still unofficial, role in 1925, summed up in Klein's phrase that it was "endeavoring to ward off discriminatory measures against American pictures on the part of foreign countries." Trade commissioners and commercial attachés had already gone beyond information gathering in their attempts to stop the exhibition of unauthorized copies of American films in various non-European countries, but the prospect of government legislation against American films in Europe produced a far more consistent pattern of action, particularly after Canty's arrival in Europe.[43] Since the right to lodge a formal protest still rested with the State Department, Commerce representatives used more informal measures.

One of the earliest such actions involved the U.S. commercial attaché in Stockholm, who was instructed by the Bureau in the spring of 1925 to "get in touch with the proper parties and bring out unofficially" that a Swedish government proposal to tax foreign film companies "would do more harm than good to the very interests it was supposed to protect" Some months later, his colleague in London was asked to contact officials at the Board of Trade (Britain's counterpart to the Commerce Department) "for the ostensible purpose of learning the details of the proposed plan, but incidentally to indicate that the Department is naturally interested and somewhat concerned" over British proposals to restrict imports of American films.[44]

In other cases, the foreign representatives of the Bureau took a more indirect approach than contacting government officials. In Vienna, the assistant U.S. commercial attaché protested formally against proposed quota legislation to the Austrian commerce and finance ministries, but he also met with representatives of that nation's film industry and Chamber of Commerce and supplied them with a resolution suitable for the formal comment that the Government had asked them for when contemplating import quotas. Supplying convincing arguments against quotas for participants outside government became somewhat of specialty for this commercial attaché: two years latter, he drafted a letter that was to be sent by the Hays Organization to Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, complaining about quotas in Czechoslovakia and asking for a formal U.S. protest.[45]

As an at-large representative of the U.S. government, George Canty became the BFDC official most frequently engaged in actions to combat European quotas. By 1927, commercial attachés in countries where restrictions seemed imminent routinely requested that Canty be allowed to meet with government representatives "in an informal way," and his presence was also requested by the European representatives of American companies. At times, the trade commissioner for motion pictures went outside official channels in his fight against restrictions. In Austria, for instance, he conducted a publicity campaign against the government's plans in 1927.[46]

Since Germany was the initiator of quota legislation, a great deal of Canty's time and effort was concentrated to that country, and it provides a good illustration of what his work came to entail. The German legislation was revised periodically, and an important aspect of the work of Canty and Commercial Attaché Fayette Allport was to interpret proposed revisions to the American distributors in Berlin and to bring them together with German government officials. Allport, a man whose ability was lavishly praised by all involved, managed to secure "distinctly advantageous modifications" for the American industry on at least one occasion.[47]

By late 1928, the established pattern was that Allport would call a meeting of American trade representatives in his office, solicit their viewpoints, and present them to the German government. Rather than negotiating with the government themselves, Hollywood representatives abroad as well as at home seemed to put their trust in the Berlin commercial attaché (and Canty). As the attention of the United States shifted from Germany to France in 1929, a similar role was played by the commercial attaché in Paris, to whom North jokingly related that the industry viewed him as the "grand high arbitrator of their difficulties."[48]

By the end of the 1920s, the industry had come to expect Commerce Department intercession on its behalf even outside Europe. In Australia, where in mid-decade the Bureau had told the trade that it was "inadvisable" for Commerce officials to speak on Hollywood's behalf, the Sydney trade commissioner was now instructed, at Herron's request, to discuss proposed censorship with the state government of New South Wales.[49]

As the importance of Canty and the commercial attachés grew, their role vis-à-vis the industry changed from being aides to being leaders. In the eyes of North and Canty, the most important policy on the part of the American film industry should be to act together in its negotiations with European governments, and as an example of what a united front could accomplish, both of them suggested on several occasions that Hollywood respond to quota legislation by ceasing to distribute films in countries putting restrictions into effect.[50]

On occasion, the advice of the Bureau was heeded. When Canty and Allport persuaded the American companies to stand united in Germany in 1928, the former reported it as "an accomplishment." After U.S. distributors responded to quotas in Czechoslovakia by boycotting that market in 1932, they promised the commercial attaché in Prague to stand firm and report any competitor who violated the boycott.[51]

More often, however, North harbored few illusions about the solidarity of the MPPDA member companies. As the need for unity became urgent in Czechoslovakia in 1927 and France in 1928, he thought the past performance of the American companies held out little hope. As North saw it, the fault lay with the Hays Organization in New York, because, when it came to the American distributors in Europe, Canty and the commercial attachés had had some success in "getting the boys together and keeping them in line." The company export managers in New York, by contrast, acted under the threat of quotas "just as though no other film company was in existence except their own."[52]

Moreover, the film industry consistently ignored the warnings of the BFDC field staff and failed to take "concerted action" until legislation had already been passed; then, when it was too late, it reacted with "much excitement, with frantic appeals for aid from this Department." North even thought that the industry had, in a sense, brought the quotas on themselves, since they had "failed to see that legislation of this kind was in the air and therefore did not modify their course to meet it." The repeated appeals from the Motion Picture Section for "some sort of definite policy" had, by and large, been fruitless.[53]

Despite such frustrations, the last years of the 1920s saw the Bureau's motion-picture unit at the height of its powers. Its status was symbolized by its promotion from section to division in 1929, a promotion that held out the promise of "greater probability of more rapid expansion of the personnel of the Division and hence of extending and developing its services," although, in reality, the change in status brought no new resources. It was, nonetheless, as North saw it, a recognition of the importance of his work both from the government and from Hays, who had lobbied vigorously for it.[54]

The conversion to sound film had put new demands on the Division, which now served not only the traditional motion-picture companies but also sound equipment manufactures such as RCA and Western Electric, and the rapidly changing market conditions had made speedy and accurate information more necessary than ever. Beside North, the staff assigned to this task consisted of Assistant Chief Nate Golden and research assistant E.I. Way in Washington and Canty in Europe. For several years, the Bureau had sought funding for a counterpart to Canty in the Far East, but that position never materialized, despite a somewhat belligerent statement in the government section of 1929 *Film Daily Year Book* that it was "necessary for the proper functioning of the section that additional personnel be added."[55]

The onset of the Depression dimmed the prospects of the Division considerably. As the federal government looked for ways to cut spending, North was forced to limit the amount of material he could publish. Under orders to practice "the most rigid economy possible" and expecting "drastically cut" appropriations in 1932, he asked the film industry for written endorsements of the value of the bulletins and reports that the Division had been issuing.[56]

Another worrisome effect of the cutbacks was the abolishment of all funds for travel for the last half of 1932, a decision that substantially reduced the effectiveness of Canty. By 1933, even the publications that North was allowed to put out had to be substantially reduced in volume, and it was unclear whether the Motion Picture Division would be allowed to continue its traditional cooperation with the *Film Daily Year Book*. When the Division once again was reduced to section status after July 1, 1933, North chose to step down as its chief.[57]

His departure is an appropriate point at which to end the general discussion of the activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and, as a conclusion, evaluate them against the background of government involvement in mass media exports. To begin with, there is little doubt that assistance to the American film industry was a deliberate and long-standing policy. The United States may have lacked a detailed film policy, as Jarvie stresses, but aid to Hollywood was definitely part of a general government policy that saw government support of exports as an instrument for achieving domestic prosperity and international stability.[58] The role of motion pictures in that policy was clearly understood and stated publicly by government officials ranging from Secretary Hoover to BFDC Director Klein to C.J. North: films promoted other

American-made goods, and they carried the ideas and spirit of the United States abroad.

On the other hand, the government's commitment to putting that policy into practice can be questioned. The resources of the Motion Picture Section remained limited (even after it rose to division status). Although the anonymous passages in the *Film Daily Year Book* stressed that an increase in personnel was "necessary" in 1929, none came about, and the work in Washington continued to be carried out by three men only. In the field, the only position created specifically for the motion-picture unit was that of Canty, despite repeated pleas from North that a similar trade commissioner was sorely needed in the Far East.

Moreover, the active role taken by the Bureau in the latter half of the 1920s seemed dictated by circumstances rather than a deliberate policy formulated in advance. When the Department's representatives abroad began to intercede with foreign governments on behalf of American film producers in 1925, the most common reason was the emerging threat of import restrictions. As noted above, Hoover and Klein tied Canty's appointment directly to the prospect of European quotas. Similarly, the leadership exercised by North in Washington and Canty in the field had its roots less in a desire for government influence over film exports than in a lack of policies and leadership on the part of the motion-picture industry, as is evident from North's often frustrated comments. When the Hays Organization began to exert a greater degree of leadership in the 1930s, the role of the U.S. government became less prominent.[59]

Finally it should be stressed, again, that when the U.S. Commerce Department established a Motion Picture Section in the BFDC in the mid-1920s, it was offering its services to an industry that already was immensely successful abroad. Hollywood had achieved that success without much assistance from the government, and that has been the pattern as American entertainment has continued to triumph abroad.

Notes

[1] One of the few studies to bring up the issue, although for a different aspect of mass media than this paper, is Jean-Luc Renard, "U.S. Government Assistance to AP's World-wide Expansion," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985):12-16, 36.

[2] Hamelink, *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications* (New York: Longman, 1983), 10; Schiller, "Transnational Media and National Development," in Kaarle Nordenstreng and Herbert Schiller, eds., *National Sovereignty and International Communication* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), 27-28; critics have been skeptical of Schiller's discussion: John Tomlinson notes Schiller's "tendency to suggest something approaching (ital.) a 'conspiracy theory' linking multinational industries and US strategic planning"; Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 64-65.

[3] The Commerce Department was not the only government agency to deal with American film producers; during World War I, Hollywood motion pictures were promoted by George Creel's Committee on Public Information, and throughout the period discussed here, American exporters were assisted by the State Department; Ian Jarvie, *Hollywood's Overseas Campaign: The North Atlantic Movie Trade, 1920-1950* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 276, 305, 323-26; Kristin Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market, 1907-1934* (London: BFI Publishing, 1985),94-99; Isaac F. Marcosson, "Commercial Exploration," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 15, 1926, 9, 50.

[4] Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 223-24; Thompson, 117-18; Victoria de Grazia, "Mass Culture and Sovereignty: The American Challenge to European Cinemas, 1920-1960." *Journal of Modern History* 61 (March 1989):59; Jarvie, 275-76; 303-05; 308-11.

[5] For this view, see, for instance, Foster Rhea Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power, 1898-1954* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

[6] Frank Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984); for a discussion of the revisionist view, see Costigliola, 15-16.

[7] Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

[8] Costigliola, 60.

[9] Laurence F. Schmeckebier and Gustavus A. Weber, *The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: Its History, Activities, and Organization* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1924), 32; Louis E. Van Norman, "Selling Our Goods Abroad," *North American Review* 244 (June 1927):287-96, 289; Harry T. Collings, "United States Government Aid to Foreign Trade," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 127 (September 1926):134-142, 135; Rosenberg, 56, 66; "How the Commercial Attaché Fosters Our Foreign trade," *New York Times*, May 1, 1927, sec. 9, 12.

[10] *Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to the Secretary of Commerce*, 1921-29; "Foreign Trade Scouts Seek a Legal Status," *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1927, sec. 8, 7; David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 183-84; Rosenberg, 140-41.

[11] Van Norman, 295; Schmeckebier and Weber, 39; Burner, 184.

[12] Van Norman, 291-92; Marcosson, "Commercial Exploration," 50; Burner, 183; Schmeckebier and Weber, 40; *Annual Report of the Director*, 1925, 44; 1927, 41; 1930, 37.

[13] Thompson, 28; 35-36, 42-43.

[14] Thompson, 71-92; William W. Sniffin, "The American Motion Picture in European Theaters," *Scientific American*, June 8, 1918; "Our Motion-Picture Films Encircling the Earth," *Literary Digest*, Sept. 28, 1918, 78; George Kleine to J.H. Maher, June 27, 1919, Kleine papers, Library of Congress; Arthur Ziehm, "Passive Sales Policy Will Mean Decline of Popularity of American Films Abroad," *Moving Picture World*, July 10, 1920, 187; O.R. Geyer, "Winning Foreign Film Markets," *Scientific American*, Aug. 20, 1921, 132.

[15] Clarence L. Linz, "World Furnishes First Figures on Increase in Exports for Past Year," *Moving Picture World*, Aug. 14, 1920, 859; "Says American Productions Appeal to the Chinese but that Only Poor Films Are Seen," *Moving Picture World*, Aug. 14, 1920, 866; "Algerians Appriciate American Movies; Films of Far West Get Good Reception," *Moving Picture World*, Sept. 18, 1920, 342; "Film Business Growing in Federated Malay States," *Moving Picture World*, Nov. 27, 1920, 452; "American Films Are the Most Popular in Finland," *Moving Picture World*, Jan. 1, 1921; "Reports Say Picture Business in Holland Is on the Increase," *Moving Picture World*, April 22, 1922, 828; Henry H. Morse to Henry Howard, National Archives, record group 151/281 "Motion Pictures, General" (hereafter: *BFDC files*, with the name of the folder--such as "General"--within the motion picture records in quotation marks and parentheses); by 1924, industry estimates of American dominance varied between 80 and 90 percent of all films shown; Joseph O'Neill to C.J. North, n.d., September, 1924; H.C. Brown to Henry Chalmers, Sept. 22, 1924 ("General"); BFDC files.

[16] *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, 1910-14; *Commerce Reports*, 1915-20.

[17] Quoted in Jarvie, 276; the BFDC under Redfield asked for similar reports two and four years later, see Philip B. Kennedy to Bureau, Sept. 23, 1918 ("United Kingdom") Philip B. Kennedy to Wilbur J. Carr, March 8, 1920; Carr to Kennedy, March 12, 1920 ("General"); BFDC files; although commercial attachés and trade commissioners were introduced in the mid-1910s, they did not deal with motion pictures to any large extent until after 1920.

[18] Jarvie, 282-83.

[19] *Address by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. Introduction ny Will Hays, President, Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. At the Seventh Annual Dinner of the Associated Motion Picture Advertisers, Hotel Astory, New York City, April 2, 1927*, pamphlet, Will Hays papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, part I, reel 32; *Hearings Before the Subcommitttee of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate, Sixty-Eighth Congress, Second Session* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 44; Rosenberg, 106-07, 122-23.

[20] The passage from the book is quoted in Stuart Chase, "Helpful Uncle Sam," *Saturday Review of Literature*, June 15, 1929, 1111; Julius Klein, *Frontiers of Trade* (New York: The Century Co., 1929); Klein to Henry

Howard, Jan. 4, 1923; Klein to Will Hays, Jan. 29, 1923 ("General"), BFDC files.

[21] "Trade Follows the Motion Pictures," *Commerce Reports*, Jan. 22, 1923, 191; *cf.* the very similar couple, in all probability furnished by Klein, in Marcosson, "Adventure in Exports," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1926, 28-29, 49-50, 51, 49; Will Hays praised the editorial, see Hays to Klein, Jan. 27, 1923 ("General"); BFDC files.

[22] *Address by Herbert Hoover*, 87; "U.S. and Banking Leaders Laud Industry at Paramount Dinner," *Exhibitors Herald and Moving Picture World, May 12, 1928*, 87; C.J. North, "Our Silent Ambassadors," *Independent*, June 12, 1926, 699; *cf.* Marcosson, "Adventures in Exports," 49

[23] Jarvie, 310.

[24] North to J. Homer Platten, Jan. 9, 1924 ("General"); BFDC files; although this letter is the first one by North to appear in the files, he had apparently sent Platten information before; North to Platten, Jan. 19; Feb. 1, March 12; 1924; for North's own description of his duties, see North to Martin J. Quigley, April 17, 1925 ("General"); North to Lynn W. Meekins, March 26, 1925 ("Canada"); North to Platten, Jan. 19, 1924 ("General"); BFDC files.

[25] Hoagland, memo to "All Commercial Attaches and Trade Commissioners," Nov. 24, 1924 ("General"); BFDC files.

[26] Hoagland to Herron, March 25, 1925; North to Herron, March 23, 1925; Klein to Hays, Nov. 15, 1924; North to Herron, April 3, 1925; Herron to North, April 17, 1925 ("General"); BFDC files

[27] North to Platten, April 29, 1924; May 10; F.L. Herron to North, April 17, 1925; North to Susan Martin, May 1, 1925 ("General"); BFDC files; some confusion was evident as to who possessed what information regarding exports, as one of Hays' assistants a few months later asked North for almost the same statistics; Joseph O'Neill to Klein, n.d., September 1924, H.C. Campbell to O'Neill, Sept. 20, 1924; on the questionnaire, see North to Platten, May 23, 1925; Klein to Hays, May 25, 1925; Klein to I.H. Chadwick, May 25, 1925 ("General"); BFDC files.

[28] "Dept. of Comm. Picture Dept.," *Variety*, Dec. 17, 1924, 26; "U.S. Considering Special Bureau to Watch Foreign Film Situation," *Moving Picture World*, Jan. 24, 1925, 323; "U.S. May Establish Branch to Protect

Film Exporters," *Exhibitors Herald*, Jan. 24, 1925, 25; some confusion surrounds the section's actual birth; Klein claimed that it started its work in April 1925 (but was "officially organized" in July 1926), while Hays saw it as coming into being in July 1925; North, meanwhile, assumed the title of chief of the motion picture section for the first time in January 1926; *Annual Report of the Director*, 1925, 44; 1927, 41-42; "President's Annual Report, March 30, 1925," Hays papers, part I, reel 21; North to Herron, Jan. 20, 1926 ("General"); BFDC files.

[29] Herron to Jeanette Calvin, Oct 17, 1924 ("General); BFDC files; on the formation of the MPPDA, see Jarvie, 285-301; *Annual Report of the Director*, 1925, 44; a sign of the importance of the MPPDA to North's daily work is the admission that he had little to do when Herron fell briefly ill in December 1926; North to Canty, Dec. 18, 1926 ("General"); BFDC files; the Hays Organization's increasing contact with the Commerce Department from 1925 on are also evident in the reports by Hays to the MPPDA Board of Directors and in Hays' correspondence; Oscar Solbert to Hays, May 16, 1925; July 2-4, part I, reel 22; Hays to Hoover, Sept. 1, 1925, part I reel 23; "Report of the President for the Regular Quarterly Meeting of the Board of directors, Sept. 7, 1923," part I, reel 12; "Proceedings of the Stockholders Meeting, Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., Held 2:45 p.m. June 16, 1924, New York City," part I, reel 16; "Presidents Annual Report, March 30, 1925," part I, reel 21; Hays papers.

[30] Department of Commerce, Chicago District Office, to Kleine, July 27, 1921; A.J. Barnard to Kleine, Dec. 22,.1923; Kleine papers.

[31] North to Bert New, July 29, 1925, Klein to Herron, Nov. 15, 1924 ("General"); BFDC files.

[32] Clayton Lane to Carr, May 19, 1927; BFDC to State Department, May 28, 1927; North to J.H. Smiley, Nov. 30, 1927; North to Carr, May 11, 1928; Perry J. Stevenson to Carr, Nov. 9, 1928; Robert J. Phillips to Carr, Sept. 25, 1929; Phillips to Carr, June 19, 1930; North to Canty, July 31, 1928; North to Canty, Feb. 18, 1930; Nov. 20, 1930; Sept. 29, 1931 ("General"); BFDC files.

[33] Herron to Hoagland, Feb. 27, 1925; Herron to North, June 13, 1925; Babbitt to Klein, Oct. 22, 1925 ("Australia"); Hugh Butler to North, Jan. 28, 1926 ("United Kingdom"); North to Toronto Office, Oct. 21, 1930 ("Canada"); to some extent, that was also the case of Latin America; North to Clarence H. Matson, July 3, 1926 ("Chile"); Golden to Maurice Kann, Dec. 21, 1928 ("Brazil"); occasionally, the MPPDA sent out its own representatives to gather information and write reports, and from 1926, it

maintained its own representative in Europe; see "President's Annual Report, March 30, 1925," 21, Hays papers, reel 21; "President's Annual Report, March 29, 1926," 28, part I, reel 26.

[34] North to James Smiley, March 5, 1928; North to Canty, March 6, 1928; April 16, 1928; North's proposal seems less peculiar, perhaps, in the light of Herron's seeming reluctance to assist the producers, see Golden to Canty, Oct. 12, 1928 ("General"); BFDC files.

[35] "President's Annual Report, March 28, 1927," 25, reel 31; unsigned MPPDA memo, April 1927, 3, part I, reel 33, Hays papers; North to Canty, Nov. 20, 1930; Sept. 29, 1931 ("General"); BFDC files; Oscar Solbert, for instance, seems to have put more store in information from commercial attaches than from local company representatives; Solbert to Hays, July 2-4, 1925, part I, reel 22, Hays papers.

[36] North to Canty, June 9, 1927; June 24, 1927; Golden to William Cooper, Dec. 21, 1929; North to Herron, June 10, 1927; North to Joseph Dannenberg, July 31, 1925 ("General"); North to Charles Baldwin, June 13, 1928 ("Australia"); the output of bulletins is evident from the *Film Daily Year Book* 1928, 937; *FDYB* 1929, 1004-05; *FDYB* 1930, 1002-03; *FDYB* 1931, 1004-05.

[37] North to Dannenberg, Dec. 18, 1925; North to Maurice Kann, Oct. 26, 1927 ("General"); BFDC files; *FDYB*, 1926-31; the *Yearbook* had previously published BFDC reports on individual countries since the early 1920s, but the cooperation begun in 1926 represented a much more concerted effort.

[38] North to Herron, April 9, 1927 ("Sweden"); North to Canty, Sept. 21, 1926; Oct. 15, 1926; Douglas Miller to North, Aug. 31, 1926; North to Canty, May 20, 1927 ("General"); BFDC files; for Canty's biography, see Jarvie, 333; Klein to H.C. Maclean, Aug. 17, 1926 ("General"); BFDC files; although only a few of Canty's reports remain in the Bureau files, one gets a sense of their number and frequency, as well as their subjects, from the acknowledgement letters sent by North and Golden.

[39] *Hearings Before the Subcommitee on Appropriations*, 44-45.

[40] John Carter, "Hollywood Has a Foreign War," *New York Times*, March 4, 1928, sec. 10, 13; Thompson, 211-12; for an account by North himself, see North, "Our Foreign Trade in Motion Pictures," *Congressional Digest*, November 1928, 295-97, 320-21; the other countries with some form of import quotas were Italy, Hungary, Austria and Portugal; Czechoslovakia

eastblished restrictions in 1932.

[41] "U.S. Considering Special Bureau to Watch Foreign Situation," *Moving Picture World*, Jan. 24, 1925, 323; "Battle Ahead for Foreign Film Section," *Variety*, Feb. 11, 1925, 2.

[42] Solbert to Hays, July 2-4, 1925, part I, reel 22; Hays papers; North to Herron, Jan. 16, 1926 ("Czechoslovakia"); Klein to H.C. Maclean, Aug. 17, 1926; North to commercial attachés and trade commissioners in Europe, Aug. 10, 1926; North to Canty, Oct. 15, 1926 ("General"); BFDC files.

[43] *Annual Report of the Director*, 1926, 41; that general phrase was the only mention of the Bureau's more direct intervention in its official statements; subsequent director's reports dealt only with information gathering, as did the section in the *Film Daily Year Book*; North to Herron, April 2, 1925 ; Herron to North, April 3, 1925 ("Egypt"); Klein to Herron, Feb. 25, 1925; Julian Gillespie to Klein, Sept. 5, 1925 ("Turkey"); North to Herron, March 26, 1925 ("Sweden"); North to William Boaz, July 5, 1926 ("Colombia"); BFDC files; "President's Annual Report, March 30, 1925," 20-21, part I, reel 21, Hays papers.

[44] Hoagland to T.O. Klath, March 23, 1925 ("Sweden"); North to Mitchell, Nov. 5, 1925; North to Herron, Dec. 5, 1925 ("United Kingdom"); BFDC files.

[45] Elbert Baldwin to Klein, Dec. 4, 1925; Feb. 6, 1926; North to Herron, April 14, 1926 ("Austria"); Baldwin to Henry Chalmers, Oct. 16, 1928 ("Czechoslovakia"); BFDC files.

[46] North to Herron, March 21, 1927; April 12, 1927; North to Canty, Nov. 10, 1928; North to Herron, Nov. 2, 1928 ("Czechoslovakia"); Miller to North, June 24, 1927; Canty to Klein, January 9, March 2, 1928 ("France"); Canty to Bureau, Jan. 29, 1929 ("Germany"); North to Bruce Johnson, Dec. 30, 1927 ("Sweden"); North to Canty, Dec. 20, 1927 ("General"); when Edwin Lowry, the MPPDA representative in Europe, was present did Canty's appearance become less necessary; North to Herron, Dec. 14, 1927 ("Austria"); North to Transportation Division, Dec. 1, 1927 ("Germany"); North to Klein, March 14, 1928 ("France"); North to Canty, June 15, 1927 ("Austria"); BFDC files.

[47] Canty to Klein, Jan. 9, 1928 ("France"); North to Walter Miller, Feb. 9, 1928; North to Allport, Jan. 17, 1928; North to Herron, Nov. 8, 1928; North to Transportation Division, Dec. 14, 1928; North to Herron, Dec. 20, 1928; Canty to Bureau, Dec. 29, 1928 ("Germany"); C.C. Pettijohn

to Hays, March 28, 1928, part I, reel 39, Hays papers.

[48] Allport to North, Sept. 15, 1928; Canty to North, Nov. 5, 1928; North to Transportation Division, Nov. 10, 1928; Allport to North, Nov. 28, 1928; ("Germany"); North to Maclean, May 23, 1929; Maclean to North, March 1, 1929; Daniel Reagan to BFDC, June 4, 1929; North to Reagan, June 19, 1929 ("France"); BFDC files.

[49] North to Elwood Babbitt, Oct. 1, 1925; Babbitt to Klein, March 15, 1926; Herron to Golden, Aug. 22, 1930; Golden to Herron, Aug. 26 ("Australia"); BFDC files; see, also, request for unoffical action in film piracy cases in Venezuela; Herron to Bernard Kosicki, March 26, 1927; Latin American Section, Division of Regional Information, to Motion Picture Division, Oct. 14, 1932 ("Venezuela").

[50] North to Herron, Nov. 9, 1926; North to Miller, Nov. 13 ("Germany"); Golden to North, July 14, 1927 ("Austria"); North to Herron, April 14, 1927 ("General"); BFDC files.

[51] Canty to Klein, Nov. 1, 1928 ("Germany"); Don Bliss to Canty, June 22, 1932; North to Prague Office, BFDC, Oct. 17, 1932; North to Herron, March 10, 1933; North to Canty, Feb. 18, March 10, 1933 ("Czechoslovakia"); BFDC files.

[52] North to Canty, Oct. 19, 1927 ("Czechoslovakia"); North to Canty, April 21, 1928 ("France"); *cf.* Golden's comment on Italy and North's on Germany; Golden to Canty, Aug. 29, 1927; North to Canty, June 24, 1932 ("General"); North to Canty, Nov. 18, 1932 ("Czechoslovakia"); BFDC files.

[53] North to Canty, Sept. 26, 1927 ("Sweden"); North to Canty, Nov. 18, 1932 ("Czechoslovakia"); North to Grant Isaacs, May 14, 1927; North to Canty, Sept. 15, 1927 ("General"); North to Montreal Office, Dec. 9, 1927 ("Canada"); North to Canty, Feb. 9, 1929 ("France"); Golden to North, July 14, 1927 ("Austria"); BFDC files; North had also tried, unsuccessfully, to make the Hays Organization stop the practice of block-booking, which he considered "utterly stupid" and resonsible some of Hollywood's problems with censorship in the Far East; North to Batavia Office, Jan. n.d., 1933 ("Dutch East Indies").

[54] *FDYB*, 1930, 1002; *Annual Report of the Director*, 1930, 37; North to Baldwin, July 30, 1929 ("Australia"); North to Maclean, June 12, 1928; North to Canty, June 12, 1928 ("France"); BFDC files.

[55] North to J.H. Seidelman, Nov. 28, 1927 ("General"); BFDC files; *FDYB*, 1928, 937; *FDYB*, 1929, 1005.

[56] North to AmerAnglo Corporation, June 14, 1932; North to Herron, March 26, 1932; North to Canty, Feb. 11, 1933; North to William Orr, Feb. 13, 1933 ("General"); BFDC files.

[57] North to Canty, July 9, 1932 ("General"); when Canty went to Czechoslovakia in November, the Hays Organization paid his way; North to Canty, Nov. 15, 1932; North to Herron, Nov. 23, 1932; North to Canty, Feb. 18, 1933 ("Czechoslovakia"); North to Canty, Jan. 31, 1933; Feb. 11, 1933; Golden to Arthur Eddy, Aug. 28, 1933; Golden to Commerce Department foreign offices, Sept. 21, 1933 ("General"); BFDC files; Golden assumed the title of section head after July 1; in 1937, motion pictures regained its division status; Jarvie, 340-41; Golden to Arthur Eddy, Aug. 28, 1933 ("General"); BFDC files.

[58] Jarvie, 299.

[59] Jarvie's chapter title for the activities of the MPPDA in the 1920s, "machinery without policy," makes that point well; Jarvie, 303-35.

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UNCOVERING A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY PRESS ASSOCIATION CODE OF ETHICS

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The development of codes of ethics in journalism have a special significance as many journalism history and ethics writers have viewed codes of ethics as a bench mark of journalistic professionalization. Sociologists include codes of ethics as a characteristic of a profession, along with professional associations and university education.[1] Thus, pinpointing the first association code of ethics helps establish the time period when journalistic professionalization began, as well as provide insights as to the motivations of journalists in times past.

Evidence has recently been uncovered which indicates that in the nineteenth century the Missouri Press Association (MPA) was a professional association[2] and advocated university education.[3] This paper will examine primary sources from the MPA which reveal a mid-nineteenth century code of ethics. The writer will also compare MPA oration topics in the mid-nineteenth century with the Sigma Delta Chi professional ethics code of the twentieth century for possible parallels.

Contradictory Accounts

The concept of journalistic professionalization beginning in the nineteenth century is a revisionist paradigm[4] as most journalism history accounts indicate journalistic professionalization began during the first part of the twentieth century. For instance, in an 1986 article in Journal of Mass Media Ethics, John Merrill states journalists did not begin to call themselves professionals until after World War II, stating:

> Journalism has gone a long way toward becoming a profession....Whereas in the pre-World War II days, journalism was known as a "craft" or a "trade"--or simply not given a label at all--it is now quite common to hear it referred to as a profession. And we hear of "professional" journalism programs (Which ones are not "professional"?) in our universities, "professional" standards in our ethical codes, and "professional" organizations, associations, and societies of journalists.[5]

Other accounts differ. Mary Cronin and James McPherson claim journalists commonly referred to themselves as professionals as early as the start of the twentieth century, commenting:

> The professionalism movement sweeping journalism at the start of this century also provided some of the motivation to create the codes. Buoyed by the press' increasing predominance in daily life, many journalists began calling their work a profession rather than an occupation or trade.[6]

Cronin and McPherson also present a lengthy list of references where journalists at the start of this century and thereafter referred to themselves as professionals.[7] In Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America, Hazel

Dicken-Garcia placed the starting point of professionalism at about 1925, stating:

> Newspapers established codes of ethics; journalism courses, departments, and schools were founded; textbooks were written; and associations were formed to provide at least a form of social control over press conduct and practices.[8]

Marion Marzolf in Civilizing Voices also saw journalistic professionalization as a twentieth century phenomenon.[9] Marzolf remarks:

> Efforts to reform journalism in the pre-World War I era were strengthened by the formation of the first journalism departments and schools and by the start of professional organizations to promote common ideals and values. Many of the founders of these institutions saw journalism reaching the status of law and medicine. This led to an emphasis on ethical codes of conduct, standardization of academic requirement, and licensing for professional educated journalists.[10]

Other scholars who have shared the view that professionalization is a twentieth century phenomenon include Sidney Kobre,[11] Douglas Birkhead[12] and William May.[13]

The Historic Tie Between Codes of Ethics and Professionalization

Past journalism historians such as Bert Bostrom have seen the proliferation of press codes in the 1920's as further evidence of a twentieth century journalistic professionalization trend.[14] In James Melvin Lee's 1923 book History of American Journalism, Lee called the first few years of the twentieth century a period where the nation became aware of the need for ethics and ethics codes.[15] Lee referred to the journalists' interest in ethics as a reflection of the national "trend of the times."[16] He credited the moral influence of President Woodrow Wilson, writing:

> Practically every newspaper before 1900 had been, as Mr. Watterson [editor of The Louisville Courier-Journal] asserted, a law unto itself, without standards of either work or duty: its code of ethics, not yet codified like those of medicine or of law, had been, like its stylebook, individualistic in character.[17]

Despite the historical emphasis on the proliferation of press codes in the twentieth century, however, the press codes did exist prior to the twentieth century. George Payne in his 1940 book History of Journalism in the United States, commented that the literary magazine Public Ledger did have a loose set of rules as early as 1864 although Payne did not specify what they were.[18] Hazel Dicken-Garcia pointed out the presentation of six ethical principles at the Minnesota Editorial Association in 1888.[19] However, these anomalies were not the norm of nineteenth century journalistic behavior.

The first professional journalistic press code came into existence in 1911 according to journalism historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia[20] or 1910 according to journalism historian Leon Flint.[21] Sigma Delta Chi was one of the first national press professional press organizations and their code, adopted in 1926, was the most recognized.[22] According to Clifford Christians, the Sigma Delta Chi code was an imitation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (A.S.N.E.) code adopted three years earlier.[23] While the codes themselves may have been initially promoted by individual editors,[24] they were championed by professional journalism groups such as Sigma Delta Chi.[25]

Thus, the historical foundation points to professional journalistic codes of ethics originating in the twentieth century. But what if a group of journalists formed an association, called themselves professionals repeatedly, advocated professional university education and formed a code of ethics in the mid-nineteenth century? This is a revisionist concept, but there are indications that MPA members were the first to advocate university education for journalists,[26] and commonly referred to themselves as journalists on par with doctors, lawyers and the clergy.[27] This information leads to a search in the MPA minutes for evidence of a code of ethics, for if the MPA members were advocating professionalization in the classical manner of doctors, lawyers and the clergy, one would expect to find a code of ethics and an emphasis on ethical principles. A look at the Missouri Press Association minutes beginning at their inception date in 1867 sheds light on this area.

Unearthing Clues from a Forgotten Source

J.W. Barrett, a founding member of the MPA,[28] its president in 1967[29] and 1868[30] and the publisher of the Canton Press, recorded and compiled the MPA minutes for ten years.[31] The MPA commissioned Barrett to keep a historical record of the MPA's proceedings which included an agenda of events of each meeting, a narrative of the convention's highlights along with the complete versions of the many lengthy original poems, and the full texts of the annual "orations."[32] Thus, Barrett's minutes consist of outlines of the meetings' agenda along with an almost complete record of the highlights, even the poems and orations.[33] After the MPA's tenth convention in 1876 the MPA officials paid Barrett to print 300 copies of the full minutes for the MPA members. Barrett printed and bound the MPA minutes in volumes 136 pages long. Historian William Taft used the minutes in writing Missouri Newspapers[34] three decades ago, but other than that the minutes have been largely forgotten.

Within the MPA minutes, the discussion of ethics is very evident. The first ten years of MPA minutes are filled with lectures on ethics which culminate in a code of ethics in 1876. A chronological sampling of these speeches illustrates the MPA member's passion for ethics.

For instance, in 1868 MPA member C.B. Wilkinson[35] talks at length about current standards of journalism in an oration at the MPA annual meeting. He recognizes a higher standard of journalism than in times past by comparing MPA members to journalists during the American Revolution. Wilkinson states, "How far they fell short of our measure of public journalism." Wilkinson believes the early journalists merely recorded news instead of seeking a deeper analysis of the facts, which indicates the presence of a set of standards or, in Wilkinson's words, a "measure" of journalism. Later, Wilkinson reemphasizes the importance of ethics in stating:

> In all matters of principle the voice of the editors should be the voice which truth and right send up from his inmost soul....He cannot move counter to his own convictions of duty.[36]

The annual address the following year contains a similar reference to specific "measures." MPA member Norman J. Colman[37] discusses the importance of principled journalism and stresses the need for editors to be open to measures which would lead to principled journalism. Colman states:

> The Press either elevates the tone of the public mind or debases it--depending upon the manner in which it is conducted. If conducted upon high and honorable principles, the public mind is elevated in a corresponding degree....In all matters affecting the people, they should be found willing and eloquent advocates of all measures having the good of the people in view.[38]

Later Colman advises, "It is always better to deal with facts and principles."[39]

An address in 1873 contains a more direct reference to an unwritten code of ethics. MPA member John Marmaduke[40] says the "moral standard" of the press, while already existing, should be higher. He elaborates by scorning sensationalism and after outlining press scandals regarding Horace Greeley and Lord Byron, he comments:

> The moral standard of the Press is not compatible with the magnitude of its power nor the measure of its responsibility. It is too ready to accommodate itself to a perverted public taste. It has the ability, and ought to create and lead, and not follow and pander to public sentiment.[41]

Marmaduke concludes his speech by enunciating a mission statement for journalists in which he lists a number of specific ethical standards. Such standards reflect a code of ethics some fifty years later, as in many respects they are identical to the 1920's ethics codes, particularly those of the Sigma Delta Chi code, to be discussed later. In enumerating ethical standards, Marmaduke states:

> Lastly, we conceive the mission of the Press to be to elevate, not debase; to enlighten, not darken; to instruct, not deceive; to inform, not mislead; to disseminate good, not evil; to propagate truth, not error,--in general, to promote the welfare of our race and bear us on to a higher destiny.[42]

Marmaduke assumed he was speaking for the entire MPA with the plural pronoun "we." He indicates an MPA mission statement.

The following year Milo Blair[43] was also concerned about sullied journalism and saw good conduct as vital if journalism were to maintain a good reputation. Blair warns against sensationalism in 1874:

> How careful we should be with the manner in which we conduct our papers, and how dangerous it is to deal in the trifling and sensational style of literature so prevalent now-a-days, not only in book form, but in journalism proper. So many papers resort to it for the sake of temporary popularity among light readers, not caring for the baleful influence it works on young minds and society in general....To unsullied journalism shall our land look, and to its trumpet tones, march with the noble and free, in the van of civilization.[44]

In 1875 Mark DeMotte[45] stresses ethical journalism, the "one true foundation,"[46] when he comments:

> Give the conduct of such a paper to an educated man of good mind and morals--strong in his convictions of right, and fearless in the expression of those convictions, and there is no end to the good he may accomplish.[47]

The First Press Association Code of Ethics

The specific MPA rules of conduct were codified the following year. At the June 6, 1876 MPA convention in Macon City, William Switzler[48] enumerated four rules which MPA members were to follow:

> *First*: Allow no temptation to secure your consent to the publication of articles long or short, in prose or poetry, original or selected, which are demoralizing in their character....
> *Second*: ....Give the substance. Omit the useless details....

> *Third*: ....As preliminary to profitable writing, and as a preparation for it, much reading and study is essential. Much brain-work, and often exhaustive research and more exhaustive thought, all unknown and quite frequently unappreciated by those who read newspapers....
> *Fourth*, and lastly: We are just entering upon the Centennial Presidential campaign....Great and singular perils and strong temptations to bitter words and partisan excesses, will environ the press. Let us illustrate a royal virtue by resisting them....while we are sometimes *partisans* we are always *patriots*--above all, that we are not only *editors*--but *gentlemen*.[49]

Thus, we have a record of the first journalistic code of ethics promoted by a professional association.[50]

The ethical considerations enumerated above of 1) no demoralizing articles, 2) substantive articles, 3) intelligent articles and 4) no bitter partisan articles were not the only items of ethical concern. In fact, a number of ethical themes reoccur throughout the MPA minutes. These themes reoccur throughout the MPA minutes and closely parallel the themes in the professional ethics codes of the 1920's.[51]

Parallels Between the MPA's Mid-nineteenth Century Ethics Emphasis and the Sigma Delta Chi Ethics Code in 1926

The Sigma Delta Chi press code, adopted half a century after the MPA code, mimics the MPA's ethical guidelines. A point by point comparison of the MPA's ethical concerns and those enumerated in the Sigma Delta Chi press code reveals the similarities. This is relevant to the MPA's efforts to professionalize because the Sigma Delta Chi manual states that the purpose of Sigma Delta Chi is to promote professionalism.

> Sigma Delta Chi, Professional Journalistic Fraternity is a professional society for men engaged in journalism, dedicated to the highest ideals in journalism, and is comparable to those professional organizations serving the professions of medicine and the law. In this unique role, Sigma Delta Chi constantly endeavors to raise the standards of competence of its members, to recognize outstanding achievement by journalists and to promote recognition of the fact that journalism is a true profession.[52]

While a group of students founded Sigma Delta Chi at DePauw University in 1909 with the purpose of benefiting "the noblest profession of them all"[53] the ethics code wasn't adopted until 1926. The Sigma Delta Chi press code lists eight items relating to accuracy and objectivity. They are:

1. Truth is our ultimate goal.
2. Objectivity in reporting the news is another goal, which serves as the mark of an experienced professional. It is a standard of performance toward which we strive. We honor those who achieve it.
3. There is no excuse for inaccuracies or lack of thoroughness.
4. Newspaper headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles they accompany. Photographs and telecasts should give an accurate picture of an event and not highlight a minor incident out of context.
5. Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free of opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue.
6. Partisanship in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth violates the spirit of American Journalism.
7. Journalists recognize their responsibility for offering informed analysis, comment and editorial opinion on public events and issues. They accept the obligation to present such material by individuals

whose competence, experience and judgment qualify them for it.

8. Special articles or presentations devoted to advocacy or the writer's own conclusions and interpretations should be labeled as such.[54]

The first item of the Sigma Delta Chi press code listed above, "Truth is our ultimate goal," was directly referred to in almost every MPA address, a fact evident when one takes a chronological look at references to truth through the first ten years of the MPA. In 1868, in an oration, C.B. Wilkinson explicitly advocates truthfulness in one form or another four times. He hints at the concept when he remarks, "A well conducted newspaper being a record of humanity, a faithful mirror of the present...." He elaborates later in the address, "Men who live after us will have the full and truthful history of our times. To be interesting and valuable, the newspaper must be truthful." He has a full page discussing the importance of having a "full and most reliable report of all news of the day up to the hour and moment of their publication," and then wraps up the section on truthfulness with this admonition for totality of coverage:

> This is undeniably true; and this compels the editor of a daily journal to live nearer than any other living man to the great throbbing heart of the world.--He must catch its every pulsation, note its every tremor, and faithfully report its every spasm. Not a ripple on the stream of time must escape his watchful pen; no voyager launch thereon his trembling craft without his notice, and no bark go down in its angry foam, without his making the proper entry in his diurnal log.[55]

Wilkinson later stresses the need for truth to be a guide of conduct involving "all matters of principle."[56]

In the following year, the May 19, 1869 annual address in St. Louis contains more direct references to the need for truth as a foundational principle. Norman J. Colman instructs the MPA members to avoid vindictive personal attacks which undermine the truth,[57] expounds on the importance of truth to the progress of civilization and reveals his belief that truth is the foundation for the elevation of mankind.[58] He also sees truth as a basis of credibility, remarking:

> But if untruthful, reckless statements and assertions are published as truthful the tone of the public mind is gradually debased, [and] becomes as familiar with falsehood as with truth, and pays but little credence to anything that is published....If these lines are true, what a fearful responsibility rests upon the Editorial profession! How guarded should they be as to what appears in their respective journals.[59]

At the same convention MPA member Thomas Garrett (unmentioned in the MPA minutes except as the author of one poem)[60] of the St. Louis Republican echoes Colman's sentiments in a poem called "The Giants" which refers to the journalist's stature in society. Garrett claims:

> Her [journalism's] purpose pure is hedged by vestal vow,
> And Truth's auroras dawn upon her brow.[61]

Another poem written by P.G. "Jenks" Ferguson of the Missouri Democrat, and presented to the 1870 MPA convention broaches the importance of truthful journalism as a basis for progress:

Let truth and justice still your motto be,
  Firm in your cause and fearless to its foes;
Ranging the world of thought in fancy free,
  Kind to the weak, and tender of man's woes.[62]

The following year, in 1871, J.C. Moore[63] discusses the importance of truth as a foundation for progress and vital to the advancement of journalism. In emphasizing totality of coverage he states:

> There is no limit to the capabilities of the ideal journal of the future....While it reflects with absolute truthfulness the most minute circumstances of the every day life transpiring around it....It will follow the merchants' ships around the world.[64]

At the May 22, 1872 MPA convention in Sedalia, truth was also a component of a poem by MPA member J. N. Edwards of the Kansas City Times.[65] Edwards paints a bleak ethical picture of the then current state of journalism, writing:

There was Chastity faint with the fight,
  Her virtue unaided had won;
There was Merit, too, pale in the light,
  Lest Justice left duties undone;
Faith kneeling by altars thrown down;
  And Purity gaudily dressed;
On Charity's face was mirrored a frown,
  Truth's azure brow had never a crown,
Nor courage a star on his breast.[66]

The following year John S. Marmaduke's oration also stresses truth as one of the principles which constituted the mission of the press as a basis for societal progress. Marmaduke says:

> Lastly, we conceive the mission of the Press to be...to propagate truth, not error, in general, to promote the welfare of our race and bear us on to a higher destiny.[67]

Another direct reference to truth takes place in 1875 in an oration by Milo Blair on the importance of independent journalism.[68] In 1876, William Switzler admonishes MPA members to seek a high standard of truth, saying: "Accuracy of statement, not simply general truthfulness, entire reliability of detail is an object worthy of special attention."[69] Thus, truthfulness, an important element in the journalism ethics codes of the 1920's, has been found to be an important element in the ethical framework of the MPA in the 1870's as well.

The next ethical issue enumerated in the Sigma Delta Chi press code is that of objectivity. While this element was not a concern among MPA members as an issue by itself, the MPA minutes do stress the importance of gaining the whole truth and obtaining accurate reports. Thus, the concern of objectivity is addressed in the coverage of the issues of truth and accuracy. Additionally, Switzler's call for MPA members to adhere to patriotism over partisanism in 1876 shows a concern for the notion of overcoming prejudice to achieve a true perspective,[70] as partisanship was dying nationwide at this time.[71]

The elements of accuracy and completeness, the third item in the Sigma Delta Chi press code, are prescribed numerous times throughout the MPA minutes. C.B. Wilkinson delivers the first such admonition in 1868, stressing the importance of accurate reports four different times. In a quote used earlier in this chapter in discussing truthfulness, Wilkinson emphasizes: "A well conducted newspaper being a record of humanity, a faithful mirror of the present, a panorama of the active scenes we daily engage in...."[72] Wilkinson stresses the importance of accuracy in calling the newspaper a "faithful mirror," and emphasizes completeness in referring to the newspaper's coverage of the "panorama," or landscape, of humanity's activities. Wilkinson also describes the breadth of activities a newspaper should cover as an example of how a newspaper should be a "faithful record" of humanity's activities.[73] Wilkinson repeats this theme of completeness and accuracy again in an extended discussion of the subject two pages later, stating:

> Men who live after us will learn the full and truthful history of our stirring times, by perusing the columns of our daily newspapers....Men make equally as serious blunders, and shock the good sense of all intelligent observers quite as much when they publish in the newspapers grossly exaggerated accounts of every-day transactions, or false statements affecting the character and true standard of men who contemporaneously move on the stage of life.[74]

J.C. Moore also speaks of the value of completeness and accuracy in 1870. From the content of his words it is clear Moore was promoting completeness and accuracy as means of achieving truth. Moore says: "It [the newspaper] reflects with absolute truthfulness the most minute circumstances of the busy every day life transpiring around it."[75] In 1874 MPA member Milo Blair bluntly demands accuracy with this admonition: "Let all reports be as full as the occasion may require and as accurate as you can get them."[76]

In 1875 MPA member Mark DeMotte gave the subject of accuracy a thorough treatment in his annual address to the convention in a discussion covering six pages. He warns:

> That a paper is needed in a community is no assurance that a poor article will be accepted. We can no more palm off upon the people a spurious article, than can a merchant or manufacturer.[77]

DeMotte goes on to emphasize the importance of accuracy from an ethical and practical standpoint,[78] and concludes by explaining that the Press' responsibility to be accurate is based on the public's "right to know."[79]

The following year in 1876 MPA member Wm. F. Switzler not only discusses the accuracy and completeness theme at length, but he also advocates it, describes it and advocates it again. Switzler advises:

> Above all they [correspondents] should be specially instructed to be scrupulously correct, even in the smallest details, in all their reports; to guess at nothing because people who pay for and read newspapers desire them to be reliable.[80]

Here Switzler uses three descriptive phrases to define the term "scrupulously correct" so that there is no confusion as to its meaning. Also, the word "reliable" comes into use again as it did in earlier references to accuracy by Mark DeMotte.[81]

Due to developments in technology not every specific concern of the Sigma Delta Chi code in 1927 can be expected to square with the ethical concerns of the MPA during the time period of the decade following 1867. For instance, the Sigma Delta Chi code deals with the accurate use of headlines, photographs and telecasts. Not surprisingly, there is no specific reference in the MPA minutes to any of these topics due to the fact that those technologies did not exist, or, in the case of photography, had not been adequately developed for use by newspapers.

The Delta Sigma Chi press code also calls for news reports to be untainted by bias. This is a concept that has no direct parallel in the MPA minutes although Switzler might have hinted at it in the previously mentioned admonition for, "entire reliability of detail."[82] However, the lack of a direct reference indicates this was a concept that did not greatly concern the MPA.

The Delta Sigma Chi Press Code also calls for an end to untruthful partisanship, a point which coincides with the MPA's stand on this issue as well. Many of the references in the MPA minutes which deal with this issue have already been covered in the discussion of the MPA's concern for truth, accuracy and objectivity. William Switzler's advice that journalists were to be patriots not partisans is one example.[83] This disillusionment with partisan reporting was not unusual in Missouri at the time.[84]

The Sigma Delta Chi code also contains an expectation of the journalist's responsibility to present information and editorials to the public regarding public issues. This obligation of the press to educate the public and elevate their understanding of public events and issues was a major topic in the MPA meetings and speeches.

From the first address of C.B. Wilkinson in 1868, it is evident that the MPA saw the newspaper as vital to society and the publisher's role as one of great responsibility. Wilkinson says, "The newspaper...must be consulted on all occasions. The humanity of this day cannot exist without it. It is a prime necessity, and it should be our duty to keep it so."[85]

The following year Norman J. Colman reiterates Wilkinson's concern with the newspaper's responsibility to inform the public. Colman emphasizes the concept of the newspaper educating the public.[86]

J.C. Moore also repeats this theme in his address to the convention of 1870. Moore places the journalist's obligation to inform above all other responsibilities, claiming, "The education and elevation of the masses in every department of knowledge will be its [the journalist's] special purpose and mission."[87] Later, Moore suggests that, "the Press will have become the first of the mental agencies, having every resource...through which to reach and influence them [the public]."[88]

In 1873 John Marmaduke also emphasizes the press' obligation to disseminate information to the public. Marmaduke sees the press as not only uniquely qualified to do the job but also extremely effective in its efforts. He boasts, "It [the press] is doing more to disseminate knowledge and to educate people up to a certain standard and at less expense than all other instrumentalities of the age."[89] Marmaduke also refers to the press' watchdog role in remarking, "By its [the press'] vigilance and omnipresence Tyranny is anticipated and its purpose defeated."[90]

The following year Milo Blair delivers the annual address and also refers to the pervasiveness of the newspaper's ability to inform. Blair comments:

> Journalism has a high and immortal mission to perform. Like a wand of a magician, its wing sweeps nearly every land, and shall yet penetrate the wildest haunts of the world, where the shadow and superstition of ignorance falls heavily over the people.[91]

One year later Mark DeMotte refers to it in more detail. DeMotte discusses the power of the press and its corresponding responsibility to inform the public in stating: "The vast power of the press--how it moulds public sentiment--how it makes and unmakes presidents and administrations--how rolling of its cylinders shakes the world and almost rules it."[92] Later in his speech DeMotte explains, "[A newspaper ought to be] the guardian of the welfare of the community, and the zealous advocate of its rights and interests."[93] In 1876 the press' obligation to inform the public was discussed in the annual address and was the subject of a resolution voted on by the entire MPA.[94]

The obligation to inform also was a topic of Wm. F. Switzler's address covering the press' power in its ability to inform. Switzler explained: "How it [the Press] has rendered invaluable aid to the cause of liberty, religion and literature throughout the world."[95] Switzler discusses at length the importance of the watchdog function of the press by commenting:

> [The Press is] a reflex of the opinions and an exponent and defender of the rights and interests of the people among whom it is specially circulated. It is theoretically and ought to be practically, an honest and sleepless sentinel of the watchtower of their liberties, and a guardian of their special interests, industries and activities whatever they may be.[96]

Switzler sees this watchdog aspect of the obligation to inform as a cornerstone of democracy, remarking: "I am, therefore, firmly persuaded that the perpetuity of our free institutions.,.depends in no small degree upon the vigorous existence and fidelity of the country press."[97]

The final item in the Sigma Delta Chi press code calls for presentations devoted to advocacy be labeled as such.

The MPA minutes address this topic at length as well. The MPA's discussion of this focuses on the then common practice of puffery, the insertion of promotional pieces for people, politicians, or products into editorials which purported to be the opinion of the editor.

Puffery appears eleven times in the MPA minutes. In a poem read at the May 10, 1870 MPA convention in Kansas City, P.G. Ferguson of the Missouri Democrat describes the then current newspaper as one where puffery was common. Ferguson writes:

> Puffs, lectures, meetings, local news complete,
> With now and then a dish of book reviews....
> Puffs of new books, old cuts of foreign scenes--
> Such is the magazine of modern fashion.[98]

Later in the poem Ferguson compares those who propagated puffery with Judas Iscariot. He writes:

> This journal stooped, and like a mousing owl,
> Sold its opinions with unblushing face
> And smeared its sacred robes with offal foul.
> Judas, who sold his Master, we despise,
> Yet poverty, perchance, was his excuse;
> But who can view, with charitable eyes,
> This venal slayer of the golden goose![99]

The next discussion of puffery occurs in another poem. This one was written by C.B. Wilkinson and was delivered in 1871. In the poem called "The Editor," Wilkinson pokes fun at the typical editor who engages in puffery. Wilkinson writes:

> Who puffs lean men to swelling notoriety,
> And blows up many an office-holding "flat."[100]

In 1874 MPA member Milo Blair challenges the puffery issue head on in his address to the convention. Blair warns:

> I am satisfied that the custom of wholesale puffing, as generally practiced by the press, is doing journalism no little injury. So much of it is done on worthless persons especially, we hardly know where or when to look for true merit.[101]

Blair also specifically addresses political puffs in a manner parallel to that of the Sigma Delta Chi press code. Blair advises:

> It [a politician's ad] must appear as an advertisement paid for by him and not as our judgment and opinion. our readers have a right to know whether what we say of the fitness of a man for party nomination is our own belief or the drivel of a hired brain.[102]

The following year in 1875 Mark DeMotte discusses the importance of abandoning the use of puffs. DeMotte states:

> I express the opinion of every practical newspaper man in this house, when I say that to print paid personal puffs, as our own editorial or local opinion, is a prostitution of our paper wholly inexcusable; and if indulged in to any great extent, will bring the just contempt of the public upon us.[103]

From the previous references it is clear the MPA advocated doing away with the practice of puffery. The speeches showed the MPA contempt in that there were comparisons of editors who engaged in the practice with traitors and prostitutes. Thus, the last item in the Sigma Delta Chi press code also has parallels in the MPA minutes.

While the MPA's influence on the Sigma Delta Chi code of ethics may not have been direct, there is evidence that the MPA had a national influence on journalism. For instance, when the National Editorial Association formed in 1886, the MPA was a role model for the organization. The MPA minutes make note of this, stating:

> When the [National Editorial Association] Constitution and By-Laws were adopted, we found that Missouri had been heard from and our own code largely drawn upon in preparing the various sections.[104]

In addition, one of the MPA members was one of the first presidents of the National Editorial Association. Thus, it would appear that the MPA could have had a national impact.

It is hard to gauge exactly the impact of the MPA's emphasis on ethics. But the fact that the MPA had a code of ethics in the mid-nineteenth century does support the concept of a mid-nineteenth century push for journalistic professionalization by the MPA. This is not to say the MPA's originating a code of ethics by itself is evidence of professionalization. However, the fact that the MPA members referred to themselves as members of the editorial profession 25 times in the 1867-1876 minutes,[105] compared their profession with that of the traditional professions of doctors, lawyers and the clergy, and pushed for university education does indicate that journalistic professionalization may have started in the mid-nineteenth century.

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[1] Marianne Allison, "A Literature Review of the Approaches to the Professionalization of Journalists," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 6; A.M. Carr-Saunders, "Professions: Their Organization and Place in Society," (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 3; Robert Dingwall and Philip Lewis, The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors and Others (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 8; Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" School and Society 1 (1915): 901-11; Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work 3 (July 1957): 44; Everett Cherrington Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), 134; Wilbert E. Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 123; Talcott Parsons, "Professions," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. David Sills, 12 (New York: 1968): 545.

[2] Mid-nineteenth century sources indicate MPA members understood professionalization and saw the MPA as a professional association. Sources indicate other press clubs at the time were bohemian in nature and resembled drinking clubs. Stephen Banning, "The Missouri Press Association: A Study of the Beginning Motivations, 1867 - 1876" (paper presented at the annual American Journalism Historian's Association Conference, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 1992), 1-21; William Switzler, "Publisher's Convention," Missouri Statesman, May 10, 1867, 2; William Switzler, "Lawyers Arrested," Missouri Statesman, May 1867, 4; William Switzler, "Missouri Editor's and Publisher's Association," Missouri Statesman, May 15, 1867, 2; Moore, Historical Notes on Printers and Printing 1420 To 1886, 251-69; Augustus Maverick, Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years: Progress of American Journalism From 1840 To 1870 (Hartford: A.S. Hale and Company, 1870), 328-29; Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States From 1690-1872 (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1873), 665; Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America (New York: The Macmillan Company), 123-24; "Among the Associations," Newspaperdom 1, no. 7 New York: Chas S. Patteson (November-December 1892): 16; Gerald Baldesty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 101; Kobre, Development of American Journalism, 725.

[3] Stephen Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Education" (paper presented at the Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication Midwest Journalism History Conference, April 1994), 1-13.

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[4] Stephen Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Professionalization in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," MA thesis, University of Missouri, 1993, 100.

[5] John C. Merrill, "Professionalization: Danger to Press Freedom and Pluralism," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer, 1986): 56; Merrill expresses a similar viewpoint in The Imperative of Freedom. John C. Merrill, The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1976), 123-42.

[6] Mary Cronin and James McPherson, "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability: The Development of Ethics Codes in the 1920's," (paper presented at the annual American Journalism Historian's Association Conference, Oct. 1992, Lawrence, Kansas), 4.

[7] Ibid., 20.

[8] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 233.

[9] Marion Tuttle Marzolf, Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism 1880-1950 (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 14.

[10] Ibid., 50.

[11] Sidney Kobre, Development of American Journalism (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1969), 733-36.

[12] Douglas Birkhead, "The Power in the Image: Professionalism and the Communications Revolution," American Journalism 1, no. 2 (winter 1984): 3; Douglas Birkhead, "News Media Ethics and the Management of Professionals," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 37.

[13] William F. May "Professional Ethics, The University and the Journalist," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer, 1986): 20.

[14] Bert Bostrom, Talent, Truth and Energy: Society of Professional Journalists Sigma Delta Chi (Chicago: Society of Professional Journalists, 1984), 18.

[15] James Melvin Lee, History of American Journalism (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1923), 388.

[16] Ibid..

[17] Ibid..

[18] George Payne, History of Journalism in the United States (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1940), 251.

[19] Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, 257.

[20] Ibid., 8.

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[21] Leon Nelson Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925), 429.

[22] Clifford Christians, "Enforcing Media Codes," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 1 (fall/winter 1985-86): 14.

[23] Ibid..

[24] Cronin and McPherson, "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability," 1.

[25] Christians, "Enforcing Media Codes," 14.

[26] Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Education," 1-13.

[27] Banning, "The Missouri Press Association: A Study of the Beginning Motivations, 1867-1876," 1-21.

[28] J.W. Barrett, comp., History and Transactions of the Editors and Publishers Association of Missouri (Canton: Canton Press Print, 1876), 1.

[29] Ibid., 2.

[30] Ibid., 7.

[31] Barrett, an interesting historical figure himself, began the Canton Press in 1862 with reconstructed equipment from a paper destroyed by Union soldiers and, along with MPA colleague Norman J. Colman, became a University of Missouri curator in 1870. Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians: Land of Contrast and People of Achievement (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1943), Vol. 1, 1005; Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, "History of the First Fifty Years of the Missouri Press Association," 1917, Unpublished Manuscript, State Historical Society of Missouri Library, 161.

[32] Barrett, History and Transactions, Preface.

[33] The one exception to this is the oration given during the convention of 1872, held in Sedalia, Missouri. Barrett could not find a copy of this oration and notes in the Minute's preface that the text of this oration had to be omitted. There is also no oration for the 1870 convention due to the fact that the delegated orator Stilson Hutchins, editor of the St. Louis Times and eventual founder of the Washington Post, did not show up at the convention and the MPA officials dispensed with the annual oration for that year. Geo. P. Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1871 (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1871), 84; Edward J. Gallagher, Founder of the Washington Post: A Biography of Stilson Hutchins 1838-1912 (Laconia: Citizen Publishing Company, 1965), 7.

[34] William H. Taft, Missouri Newspapers (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964).

[35] C.B. Wilkinson published a daily Republican newspaper called the Herald and became MPA president in 1871. He

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later moved to Colorado, published the Denver Republican and became a prominent member of the Colorado Press Association. John Weeks Moore, Historical Notes on Printers and Printing 1420 To 1886 (Concord: Republican Press Association, 1886), 255; Barrett, History and Transactions, 4, 43; Geo. P. Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1871, 83.

[36] C.B. Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 16.

[37] Colman was experienced in the traditional professions. In addition to being licensed to teach and practice law, he had also attended a seminary. He published the Rural World, was a University of Missouri curator, and ran for lieutenant governor in 1868. He would eventually become the first United States Secretary of Agriculture. Barrett, History and Transactions, 17, 7; Jonas Viles, The University of Missouri: A Centennial History 1839-1939 (E.W. Stephens Compnay: Columbia, 1939), 164; Frank F. Stephens, The History of the University of Missouri (University of Missouri Press: Columbia, 1962), 262, 267-68; Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians, 991; Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel Durrie, An Illustrated History of Missouri Comprising Its Early Record, and Civil, Political and Military History (St. Louis: A.J. Hall and Company, 1876), 490-91.

[38] Norman J. Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 23. Historians spell Colman's name "Colman" at times. In fact, it is spelled both ways in various parts of the MPA minutes. It is possible that Colman preferred the shorter version for his newspaper "Colman's Rural World."

[39] Ibid., 22.

[40] Marmaduke studied in Europe, at Harvard and Yale, and was known as a scholar. His father was a governor of Missouri and his father-in-law a doctor. Marmaduke himself become governor in 1885. Webb, Battles and Biographies of Missourians, 311; Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians, Vol. 2: 96, 106.

[41] John Marmaduke, "May 27, 1872 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 73.

[42] Ibid..

[43] Milo Blair ran a small newspaper with a circulation of 960. Geo. P. Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1873 (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1873), 120, 126.

[44] Milo Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 86-87.

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[45] Mark DeMotte ran a small newspaper with a circulation of about one thousand. Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1873, 123.

[46] Mark DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 99.

[47] Ibid..

[48] William Switzler was active both in the MPA and in politics. His paper was known as a major Whig voice in the state. John Vollmer Mering, The Whig Party in Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967), 103; Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians, Vol. 1, 990-91; Barrett, History and Transactions, 19, 65, 90.

[49] William Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 131-33.

[50] Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, 257.

[51] Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Professionalization in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 76-99.

[52] Victor E. Bluedorn, Sigma Delta Chi Manual(no publisher or publication location listed, 1959), 7.

[53] William Meharry Glenn, The Sigma Delta Chi Story: 1909-1949 (Coral Gables: Glade House, 1949), 22.

[54] Bert Bostrom, Talent, Truth and Energy: Society of Professional Journalists Sigma Delta Chi (Chicago: Society of Professional Journalists, 1984), 177.

[55] Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 13.

[56] Ibid..

[57] Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 22.

[58] This concept of progress through truth was popularized in the mid-nineteenth century by John Stuart Mill's essay On Liberty (1859). Mill wrote that public criticism was vital and restraining the press was tyranny as he saw truth as a necessary condition in a democracy. G.L. Williams, John Stuart Mill on Politics and Society (New York: International Publications Service, 1976), 35-41; R.J. Halliday, John Stuart Mill (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), 117.

[59] Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 23.

[60] Barrett, History and Transactions, 7; Thomas E. Garrett, "The Giants," in History and Transactions, 30.

[61] Garrett, "The Giants," in History and Transactions, 30.

[62] P.G. Ferguson, "The Press," in History and Transactions, 59.

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[63] J.C. Moore had a diverse career, serving in the Confederate Army aw a Colonel under fellow MPA member Major-General John S. Marmaduke. By the time Moore joined the MPA he had been licensed to practice law, had served in the Colorado legislature, was the first mayor of Denver, had worked at the St. Louis Times and had co-founded the Kansas City Times. Webb, Battles and Biographies of Missourians, 362; Gallagher, The Founder of the Washington Post, 61.

[64] J.C. Moore, "May 24, 1871 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 48.

[65] Edwards was coeditor of the Kansas City Times along with fellow MPA member J.C. Moore (Moore and Charles Dougherty had started the Times four years earlier). Edwards was active in the MPA, attending the MPA charter formation in 1868, as part of a nominating committee in 1869 and as MPA Secretary in 1870. He would become known as one of Missouri's outstanding authors. Geo P. Rowell, The Men Who Advertise (New York: Nelson Chesman, 1870), 681; W.L. Webb, Battles and Biographies of Missourians or the Civil War Period of Our State (Kansas City: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company, 1903), second ed., Vol. 1, 363; Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1871, 81; Barrett, History and Transactions, 18, 42; Walter Williams, The State of Missouri (Columbia: E.W. Stephens Press, 1904), 220.

[66] J.N. Edwards, "The Press," in History and Transactions, 63.

[67] John S. Marmaduke, "May 27, 1873 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 73.

[68] Blair, "May 20, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 99.

[69] Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 128.

[70] Ibid., 133.

[71] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, 175; Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books Inc., Publishers, 1978), 65.

[72] Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 8.

[73] Ibid., 10.

[74] Ibid., 13-14.

[75] Moore, "May 24, 1871 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 48.

[76] Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 85.

[77] DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 101.

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[78] Ibid..

[79] Ibid..

[80] Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 126.

[81] DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 101.

[82] Ibid., 128.

[83] Ibid., 133.

[84] H.C. McDougal, "A Decade In Missouri Politics 1860 To 1870," 8 March 1904, Manuscript, The State Historical Society of Missouri, 13.

[85] Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 9.

[86] Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 21.

[87] Moore, "May 24, 1871 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 48.

[88] Ibid., 50.

[89] Marmaduke, "May 27, 1873 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 71.

[90] Ibid., 72.

[91] Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 86.

[92] DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions," 93.

[93] Ibid., 99.

[94] F.A. Jones, "June 6, 1876 Missouri Press Association Miscellaneous Business," in History and Transactions, 116.

[95] Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 123.

[96] Ibid., 125.

[97] Ibid..

[98] Ferguson, "The Press," in History and Transactions, 56-57.

[99] Ibid., 58.

[100] Wilkinson, "The Editor," in History and Transactions, 50.

[101] Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 85.

[102] Ibid., 104.

[103] DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 102.

[104] Ibid., 11.

[105] Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Professionalization in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 50-61.

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Women's Pages or People's Pages: The Production of News for Women in the Washington Post in the 1950s

A research paper submitted to the 1994 AJHA annual convention

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Abstract

To illuminate some of the issues involved in the ongoing revival of special sections for women in newspapers, this paper provides a historically grounded case study of the women's pages of the Washington Post in the 1950s under the editorship of Marie Sauer. The Post was chosen based on its significance in the evolution of women's pages. In 1969, the Washington Post initiated the general move away from women's pages in the newspaper industry. Based on the idea that female readers should be treated equally as male readers, this radical change, however, had been advanced to the management much earlier by Marie Sauer. In 1952, when the Post decided to expand its women's pages, Sauer proposed a general interest section to be named "For and About People." Advertisers, however, preferred the traditional format with its focus on women's domestic responsibilities so that they could keep a concentrated female readership as the target of advertising. Catering to the demands of advertisers, the Post created a "new" women's section titled "For and About Women." The internal decision process at the Post to maintain sexual segregation of news allows one to explore factors bearing on changes in women's pages, including advertising, professional values, and women's lifestyles. Although her proposal to change the traditional women's pages was thwarted, Sauer nevertheless continued to make slow and subversive changes by offering readers a perspective informed by feminist awareness.

Women's Pages or People's Pages: The Production of News for Women in the *Washington Post* in the 1950s

Prompted by a 20-year slide in female readership, newspapers around the country are resurrecting the women's pages they dismantled in the early 1970s.[1] In the heyday of the women's movement, many newspapers changed traditional women's pages into today's unisex lifestyle sections. The demise of the pages was then widely hailed as the march out of "the news ghetto of print."[2] The "new" women's pages of the 1990s, however, have rekindled debates about issues seemingly resolved more than two decades ago. Critics of women's pages say that separate sections for women reflect sexism. As feminist Susan Faludi says, "the whole idea the women's news and issues are special or subordinate to men's is implicit in the creation of these sections."[3] On the other hand, supporters of the pages argue that women's sections address concerns of female readers often neglected in the male-dominated news profession.[4] Citing results of focus groups and the success of recent special sections for women, they say women, at least quite a few of them, want women's pages back.[5] In light of the ongoing debates on the pros and cons of a separate section for women, critical studies of traditional women's pages are urgently needed. The purpose of this paper therefore is to provide a historically grounded and localized case study of the women's section of the *Washington Post* in the 1950s.

Reflecting the low status of women's genres in mainstream research, scholars have largely ignored news for women. Even the scant attention paid to women's pages to date is circumscribed in the three aspects. First, critics have focused mainly on the transition into lifestyle sections, shedding little light on the rich history of the genre.[6] Second, the few studies available were limited by a narrow focus on the content of the pages.[7] Divorced from historical context, a strictly textual emphasis failed to illuminate why and how changes occurred in the way newspapers handle women's news. In fact, even what specifically constituted women's news fluctuated with historical currents. Third, based on liberal feminist assumptions, most of the existing research on women's pages embraced masculine values as the norm. Reinforcing the stereotype of women's pages as frivolous and dull, this line of critique failed to enhance our understanding of women's pages as a feminine genre.[8] As journalism historian Susan Henry observed, women's media need to be analyzed in a truly female context to achieve an understanding of "what they meant to the women involved in them as media creators or audiences."[9]

This study therefore seeks to provide a historical dimension, focusing on the women's pages of the Washington Post in the 1950s under the editorship of Marie Sauer. The Post was chosen based on its significance in the evolution of women's pages. In 1969, the Washington Post initiated the general move away from women's pages in the newspaper industry. Based on the idea that female readers should be treated equally as male readers, this radical change, however, had been advanced to the management much earlier by Marie Sauer in 1952. The internal decision process at the Post to maintain sexual segregation of news allows one to explore factors bearing on changes in women's pages, including advertising, professional values, and women's lifestyles.

Sharing with previous studies a concern about the content of the pages, this study differs in its emphasis on the material as well as cultural elements in the production of women's news. A content analysis based on three four-week sample sets from 1945, 1952, and 1960 is used to identify changes in the women's section. The first and third weeks of April and October of these three years are chosen in order to avoid proximity to holidays or other events that might skew coverage. A file of clippings made available by Sauer provides further information. Moreover, the content of the pages is contextualized in the conditions of production, which include the microcosm of newsroom culture and the macrocosm of newspaper economy and gender climate.

In addition, using primary sources gathered from personal interviews and correspondence, this study presents the perspective of Marie Sauer as a women's editor. The story of her career becomes especially significant when seen in the backdrop of existing literature on the history of women journalists. Confined by the dominant male standard of professional significance and success, research on women in journalism tended to celebrate the "notable" women who succeeded in male turfs on male terms. To broaden the historiography of journalism, scholars must take into account women who made it in the front page as well as those neglected in the back page such as Marie Sauer.

A salient commercial nature has distinguished women's pages from other sections in newspapers since the first special section for women appeared in the late 1890s. The industrialization of American society in late nineteenth century transformed women's economic role from that of home workers to consumers. Many goods formerly produced by women for home use were now manufactured through mass production and sold at department stores and chain stores, which relied on advertising to build a city-wide clientele.[10] In this system of capital industrialism, women became supervisors of the increasing consumption of their families. Because of their role as primary purchasing agents of consumer goods, women, so far neglected by the press, became important to advertisers and therefore to newspapers.

Taking advantage of these changes in women's economic function, Joseph Pulitzer was one of the first to create a special section for them. In 1886, his New York World started to carry columns devoted to women. By 1891, a page for women had become a steady feature in his Sunday World. After 1894, the "For and About Women" section was a daily feature in the

World.[11] In his vigorous struggle with the New York Journal of William Randolph Hearst for advertising supremacy, Pulitzer used this innovation to assure his advertisers that women were reading his paper.[12] In short, as historian Michael Schudson argued, women's pages were created not so much for women, but for advertisers seeking to sell goods to women.[13]

Echoing women's increasing significance as consumers, women's pages assumed a vital role in the finances of newspapers, which were relying more and more on advertising revenues. In her poignant reflection on the commercial nature of women's pages, journalist Genevieve Jackson Boughner said in 1926,

> One must face the "brute" fact that the woman's page is a bid for the advertiser's patronage, both the local department store advertiser and the national advertiser of feminine products. Knowing that it is the women who buy, the writer of advertising copy today adroitly directs his appeal to women, so the newspaper, therefore, that can claim the greatest number of women readers is bound to get the greatest amount of advertising patronage.[14]

The unique commercial value of women's pages made them susceptible to the control of advertisers throughout their entire history. Almost five decades after Boughner's observation, Nicholas von Hoffman, a columnist in the women's pages of the Washington Post, lamented "the advertising director of the city's largest department store has more power on a paper than its women's page editor has."[15]

The influence of advertising on women's pages was evident in the Post's 1952 decision on the direction of its women's section. When the paper decided to expand its women's pages, editor Marie Sauer saw an opportunity to redefine the section bound by the rigid tradition of the genre. Premised on a binary concept of gender, women's pages were defined by a strict distinction between hard news and soft news, honoring the split between public and private spheres. News concerning major institutions in the public sphere, such as the government, economy, law, education, etc., was defined as hard news--men's news. By definition, news regarding aspects of the private sphere such as family responsibilities, personal relationships, and social life constituted soft news--women's news. These professional codes of news definition operated to limit women's pages to soft news and at the same time constructed female readers as "just housewives."

Departing from these traditional concepts of news and newspaper readership, Marie Sauer formulated a new direction for traditional women's pages. In contrast to the management's perception of the readership of women's pages as housewives with concerns limited to their domestic domain, Sauer perceived her readers as intelligent and aware women whose interests were limitless.[16] She said in an interview, "women were just as interested in the high cost of child care as in the high cost of missile."[17] Moreover, she disagreed with the dominant professional assumption of the day that women and men had separate news interests, and that soft news and hard news should be segregated accordingly:

> Women and men were interested in the same things. Even though at that time, they [women] weren't ready to be president, the most important issues to them were peace, budget balancing, honesty and efficiency in government,

> equal pay for equal work....Hard news or soft news? I felt that women wanted both.[18]

Sauer's vision of a new section in which female readers would be treated as equals to male readers was grounded in her feminist belief that honored the diversity among women:

> I always thought women could do anything they wanted to do--from running a home to running a city or a nation. I was always for the ERA, equal pay, child care, etc....I thought women should have any jobs they wanted. I thought many more women should run for the Presidency, Congress, local offices. But I believed that any woman, if she wanted to, had the right to concentrate on child rearing and community and cultural activities.[19]

Her feminist conviction led her to fight for a general interest section for both women and men to be named "For and About People." Deemphasizing gender in the title, she sought to attract male readers and made a point that news about women should be everyone's concern. In defense of their commercial interest, however, the Post's advertisers thwarted editorial efforts to change the traditional women's pages. In order to pitch advertisements toward affluent suburban housewives in the Washington metropolitan area, advertisers, preferring a traditional format focusing on women's activities, perpetuated the section's emphasis on women's domestic lives.[20]

In line with the national exodus to the suburbs, the city population of Washington began to shift to the suburbs in the late 1940s. From 1940 to 1950, the suburban population more than doubled, while the city only had a moderate increase of 21 percent. By 1960, the suburbs had claimed double the population of the city, which had declined 4.8 percent in the decade.[21] The suburban expansion created a market of domestic products that the advertisers of the Post were eager to pursue. At the same time, the Post was waging a long battle with the city's other daily newspapers for circulation and above all, advertising.

In the competition with other papers, the Post had a record of using the women's section as a lure for advertising. For example, in the late 1930s, a Friday food page was added to the women's section to cajole grocery advertisers.[22] When publisher Philip Graham took over the Post in 1946, the paper was far behind the Washington Star and the Washington Times-Herald in circulation, and its advertising accounted for only a fourth of the linage of the city's four dailies.[23] In his struggle to build up the Post, Graham was concerned with meeting the needs of advertisers in the women's pages. In a memo to his managing editor, he inquired, "Do you think we are doing enough on food in the women's section, in view of our general importance in the food advertising field?"[24] It was obvious the pages were to serve the advertisers more than the female readers of the Post.

In order to gain an edge in the fierce competition for advertising in the 1950s, the Post needed to attract advertisers by having a large female readership because women now were making 90 percent of family purchases according to Marie Sauer.[25] In 1952, when Sauer proposed to transform the women's section, the Post's circulation had not yet reached the 200,000 mark; it trailed behind both the Star and Times-Herald. Advertising had passed that of the Times-Herald, but was still behind the Star. A unisex section would have dispersed the concentration of female readers. To the management, a women's section following the traditional format seemed to be the best way to ensure a definite grasp of a mass of female readers.

Moreover, a growing newspaper like the Post could not risk offending the mainstream readership inclining toward a conservative postwar gender ideology in the 1950s. Sauer's vision implied equal treatment of female and male readers as well as a recognition of women's interests in and commitments to the world outside their homes. Both principles contradicted the cultural emphasis on gender dichotomy, women's domestic function, and the vast economic investment in these gender stereotypes. Under such circumstances, the management of the Post insisted that the women's department concede to the advertisers, whose interest lay in keeping women in their places sanctioned by gender traditions: the kitchen, the home, and the women's pages. Accordingly, a "new" women's section named "For and About Women" was designed to deliver a concentrated female readership to advertisers.[26] A return to tradition was evident in the chosen title, which Joseph Pulitzer had used to name his section for the Victorian lady.

Catering to advertisers who wanted to cultivate the domestic consciousness of women in order to boost the consumer sector of postwar economy, the expanded women's section played up traditional service features. Compared to the untitled women's pages of 1945, the "For and About Women" section emphasized homemaking, beauty, food, child care, and fashion. Articles on homemaking proliferated from less than 1 percent of the total number of stories to more than 15 percent. Articles on beauty showed an increase of almost 9 percent. Coverage on child care, fashion, and food increased approximately two to three times.

Table 1. Comparison of the Numbers and Percentages of Stories in 1945 and 1952

Category	1945	1952
Society	273 (38.6%)	80 (13.0%)
Weddings & Engagements	161 (22.7%)	139 (22.6%)
Clubs	137 (19.4%)	52 (8.4%)
Advice	40 (5.6%)	21 (3.4%)
Food	29 (4.1%)	56 (9.1%)
Commentaries	28 (4.0%)	39 (6.3%)
Fashion	12 (1.7%)	28 (4.5%)
Child Care	11 (1.6%)	32 (5.2%)
Profiles	8 (1.1%)	17 (2.8%)
Homemaking	6 (0.8%)	96 (15.6%)
Beauty	3 (0.4%)	56 (9.1%)
Total	708 (100.0%)	616 (100.0%)

A content analysis of advertisements in the women's pages further illustrated the domination of advertising in the pages and their commercialization. Examination of the pages showed that advertisements occupied more space than editorial content. For example, display advertisements of department stores and grocery stores usually took up more than half of the column space in a page. An overwhelming majority of the advertisements, 73.5 percent, exclusively featured feminine products such as cosmetics, jewelry, and women's apparel. On the other hand, only 1.3 percent featured products for men such as men's apparel, which were likely to be purchased by women for the men in their lives. Although an average of 25.2 percent of the advertisements featured products for the consumption of both sexes, they were designed to target women, who were much more likely than men to be in charge of purchasing products such as food, silverware, furniture, and children's clothes.

Table 2. Numbers and Percentages of Advertisements Targeting Specific Sex By Products

	1945	1952	1960	Average
Total Ads	704	664	926	760
Target Audience				
Women	516 (73.3%)	480 (72.3%)	695 (75.0%)	564 (73.5%)
Men	15 (2.3%)	4 (0.4%)	8 (0.9%)	4 (1.3%)
Both	173 (24.4%)	180 (27.1%)	223 (24.1%)	192 (25.2%)

The power of advertising essentially transformed the pages into a showcase for businesses to lure women consumers. Correspondence between service features and advertisements were not unusual, which belied the journalistic dictate that advertising should not impose on editorial content. For example, a feature on a new product called "Beauty Strap" that "does wonderful things for your face" reminded readers at the end that the product was on sale at several stores that advertised heavily in the Post: The Hecht Co., Jelleff's, Kann's, and Woodward & Lothrop.[27] In sum, women's pages were largely subject to the powerful influence of commercial interests on the part of the newspaper and its advertisers. Radical changes in the content and format of women's pages therefore were beyond the control of a feminist editor such as Marie Sauer.

As much as she integrated feminist beliefs with her journalistic career, Sauer felt strongly that the enhancement of women's rights in society could be achieved in cooperation, not confrontation, with men. Viewing the radical feminist as a "'march in the streets' militant," she insisted on not being so identified.[28] This position characterized her reactions after her proposal was rejected. She conceded that the Post, deeply entrenched in stiff competition with other newspapers in Washington, D.C., was not in a position to defy most of the major advertisers, who wanted to be in the women's section:

> We were a minority paper at that time, battling the Times Herald, Star and Daily News for both advertising and circulation. Since women did about 90% of the shopping then

> advertisers felt they must be in a woman's section. Even after we bought the Times Herald in 1954, we were still in a furious battle with the Star for advertising.[29]

Having lost her battle, she thus "enthusiastically went along with the consensus."[30] Her reaction revealed how women's editors negotiated contradictions between their personal beliefs and professional experiences. A 1978 study found that women's editors often internalized professional expectations about appropriate section content that took precedence over their own personal views and thus minimized possible conflicts.[31]

In the "For and About Women" section, Sauer nevertheless continued to defy tradition through slow and subversive changes. "She was always fighting to broaden her field," her reporter Meryl Secret observed.[32] Although commercial interests defined the focus of her section on women, Sauer expanded the section's scope beyond homemaking and society chitchat. With feminist beliefs grounded in the diversity of women, she presented a wider range of images of women other than the dominant housewife-mother role model. She recalled,

> We focused on the interests and activities of WOMEN, but women with ever widening interests--at home, at work in the arts, the professions, in politics, in volunteer agencies. We wrote about the lifestyles of housewives (the majority of the female population in that baby boom era) in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs; we wrote about women just beginning their careers and rising women leaders in the national and international affairs.[33]

The content analysis in Table 3 illustrates the direction of changes in the women's section during the 1950s as a result of Sauer's efforts to broaden the horizon of women's pages.

Table 3. Comparison of Numbers and Percentages of Stories in 1952 and 1960

	1952	1960
Society	80 (13.0%)	197 (21.5%)
Weddings & Engagements	139 (22.6%)	204 (22.3%)
Clubs	52 (8.4%)	79 (8.6%)
Advice	21 (3.4%)	24 (2.6%)
Food	56 (9.1%)	92 (10.0%)
Commentaries	39 (6.3%)	80 (8.7%)
Fashion	28 (4.5%)	41 (4.5%)
Child Care	32 (5.2%)	4 (0.4%)
Profiles	17 (2.8%)	44 (4.8%)
Homemaking	96 (15.6%)	143 (15.6%)
Beauty	56 (9.1%)	8 (0.9%)
Total	616 (100.0%)	916 (99.9%)*

*Percentages are rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent. As a result, there is a slight discrepancy of the total percentages from 100%.

Comparison of the pages in 1952 and 1960 showed that traditional content including wedding and engagement announcements, club activities, advice, food, fashion, and homemaking remained the stock of the women's pages, with variations of less than 1 percent from 1952 to 1960. More significant changes occurred in the areas of society, commentaries, child care, personal profiles, and beauty. Articles on child care dropped from 5.2 percent in 1952 to 0.4 percent, perhaps because the birth rate started to decrease after 1957. Aesthetic advice and dieting tips decreased 8.2 percent after the syndicated column "Keep in Trim" disappeared. Sauer said that the constant coverage of women's domestic lives was based on polls that confirmed the interest of women readers in these subjects.[34] She recalled,

> Women took very hesitating steps to what in the 60s would be called "using your full potential." Some women resented giving up their war jobs for homemaking but most women told us they were content to have their husbands back and to be rearing children (the rate was 3.1 per family) which they found a "very rewarding job." They resented the belittling of their child-rearing role, considered themselves not "just breeders" but vital members of the community.[35]

Her observation revealed that in women's pages, the prevailing gender climate constituted part of the conditions of production. To the extent that the realities of women's lives embodied and informed dominant gender ideology, women's pages became situated in that critical intersection. Drawing on existing cultural elements that privileged what Betty Friedan called "the feminine mystique" of the 1950s,[36] the women's pages for the most part positioned readers in the roles of wives and mothers through traditional service features on food, fashion, furnishing, and family. On the other hand, tapping into the lived experiences of women who were defying gender norms, the pages allowed women to read against the grain and question the dominant gender discourse that prescribed these roles as the only way to fulfill themselves.

Possibilities for such oppositional readings abound in commentaries and personal profiles, which claimed increased coverage in the women's section. Sauer used them as a forum to highlight women like herself, who strove to challenge gender assumptions and bridge the gap between the separate spheres. As she recalled,

> Women at this period were beginning to increase their influence in every field of modern life. Washington was full of highly educated career women who had always worked--in middle levels of government, academia, foundations and organizations, artistic and theatrical circles....Many Washington women started moving from behind-the-scenes political work to the front lines--running for office, becoming active as local community leaders.[37]

Sauer's perception directly challenged the myth of women's back-to-the-home movement widely promoted after World War II to put Rosie the Riveter back to the kitchen. The pace of female employment quickened rather than slowed during the postwar years. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of working wives doubled, and the number of working mothers quadrupled.[38] Despite all the cultural emphasis on marriage and motherhood during the 1950s, one in every three married women was gainfully employed.[39] Significantly, the greatest increase in the postwar female labor force came from the middle class instead of the lower class. In the 1950s, the employment of wives from families of middle class rose from 5 to 25 percent.[40] As a 1952 article in the women's pages pointed out, "married women here are definitely on the march out of the home and into American industries and professions."[41] In line with the nation, the Washington metropolitan area experienced a similar pattern of changes in female employment. According to reports of the D.C. Department of Public Health, by 1960, 20.4 percent of married women were in the labor force, and 4.5 percent of them had children under six.[42]

The trend of increasing female employment provided Sauer with material to divert the section's focus on the traditional roles of women as wives and mothers. She profiled women successful in their professions, which were often those dominated by men. Her efforts to provide inspiration and role models by showing women who succeeded in the male-dominated public sphere was evident in an introduction to profiles of two outstanding women in diplomacy:

> Two women today are top representatives of the United States in the diplomatic affairs of western Europe. In the following pair of articles Associated Press reporters in Copenhagen and Luxemburg described the life and accomplishments of Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, first American Woman Ambassador, at the court of Denmark and of Mrs. Perle Mesta, Minister to the Grand Duchy.[43]

In addition to personal profiles, Sauer employed other editorial strategies to challenge the stereotypes of women. She featured women's activities and interests that were not traditionally considered feminine such as sports, politics, aviation, adventures, etc. For example, on August 1, 1954, a teenager named Outstanding Cadet at the National Air Patrol Encampment was hailed as "a lot of woman in more than one way."[44] When the National Association of Colored Women discussed women in politics on August 4, 1954, "the accent was decidedly feminine."[45] A common rhetorical move in these stories drew attention to the femininity of the subjects who were engaging in activities considered untraditional for women. Emphasizing the compatibility between womanhood and seemingly "manly" pursuits, this textual strategy could be invoked to expand the narrow definition of femininity in the postwar era.

Drawing on her experience using the Gallup poll in reviews of national and international affairs when she was a Sunday editor, Sauer also took advantage of surveys and polls to challenge gender stereotypes. For instance, a headline proclaimed on March 4, 1950, "Women claim equal courage with men, survey disclosed."[46] The article announced that "the concept of women as the weaker sex is all wrong--according to women questioned in a nation-wide survey."[47] Similarly, another headline drew attention to the fact that "Men? No, indeed, living costs was the chief topic for women."[48] Mocking the assumption that women occupied themselves with nothing but domestic and frivolous concerns, the article also undermined the same assumption that defined women's pages:

> What do you think women talk about when they get together? Men? No, indeed. The question most discussed when the fair sex meet at parties or at the local hairdresser's is the "high cost of living." What do you think is the next most discussed subject? Fashion, or the newest techniques of child rearing? No, you are wrong again. In the No. 2 spot on the list of feminine discussion topic is--hold on to your hats--business and economic conditions in our country.[49]

To further diversify the content of women's pages, Sauer used the space formerly devoted to child care and beauty to increase coverage of the political aspects of the social scenes in the nation's capital. She explained her emphasis on society coverage:

> Washington is a global city. Society news here is news on politics and international affairs. Politics and diplomacy don't stop after office hours. And you get better stories when people are in a relaxed mood in parties than in a busy day.[50]

In order to transform the society chitchat into a chronicle of the power structure in the nation's capital, Sauer needed experienced general assignment reporters to join her staff, which consisted of about 25 reporters and editors. The low status of the women's department, however, made recruiting difficult. She often had to convince investigative reporters such as Maxine Cheshire from the Knoxville News-Sentinel and Dorothy McCardle from the Philadelphia Inquirer that the women's section was an interesting place to work.

Despite its significance to the finance of a newspaper, the women's section was historically devalued in the male-centered profession of journalism. Dealing with women's concerns, the pages were often perceived as frivolous, dull, and insubstantial. Embraced by many journalists, the stereotype of women's pages was further perpetuated by scholars who imposed androcentric values on a feminine genre and failed to listen to the voices of women. The lack of attention to Marie Sauer's career illustrated the bias implicit in assessing the contribution of women to journalism only from the perspective of what elite journalists, most of them men, considered journalistically interesting and valuable.

In 1935, Dean Carl Ackerman of the Columbia School of Journalism arranged an interview with Post owner Eugene Meyer for Marie Sauer, who would soon be graduating from the school. After meeting her at his apartment in New York, Meyer immediately hired her as a society reporter. In a year she was promoted to assistant Sunday editor. She became Sunday editor in 1937 and pioneered the use of the Gallup poll in the weekly review of national and international affairs. In 1942, responding to the call for women to aid the war effort, Sauer became the first woman at the Post to join the U.S. Navy Waves.

When she returned to the Post in 1946, she did not resume her former position as a Sunday editor; instead, she became the women's editor. From a male point of view, veteran Post reporter Chalmers Roberts wrote in his history of the newspaper that Sauer was "banished" to head the women's department, which was limited to "covering social events and interviewing wives and secretaries of important men."[51] In contrast, Sauer welcomed the move as a chance to provide news about "prominent women, average women, white women, black women--their fashions, their foods, their lifestyles, their fight for equal rights and civil rights, their involvement in community action" that would "inform, amuse, challenge, and intrigue thousands of readers every day."[52] Her articulation of what it meant to her to work in the women's department revealed a perspective countering the dominant perception of women's pages that often served to devalue the work of women journalists and belittle the interests and activities of women readers.

In addition to the low status of women's pages in the newspaper hierarchy, Sauer had to negotiate professional codes of news definition and news gathering. To circumvent the constraint of the distinction between hard news and soft news, Sauer incorporated them in her section. She demanded her reporters gather substantial information at parties, receptions, and club activities. Judith Martin, one of her reporters, told Chalmers Roberts her experience of working for Sauer:

> She taught us how to make these into opportunities for gathering hard news. I quickly learned that it was easier to talk my way into some place I didn't belong, grab the President of the United States, and ask him some awful question no one else would dare to, than it was to go back and have to admit to Miss Sauer (we never called her anything else) that I hadn't done it.[53]

"I was absolutely terrified by her," said Meryl Secret. "But I learned more from Miss Sauer than any other editor I have ever worked with." Quick-tempered and short-handed, as Secret recalled, Sauer was constantly yelling, "There is a hole here," when sloppy copy stories came to her desk.[54]

Traditionally, politics was a strictly male sphere and therefore the concern of the front page. By bringing it into the women's section, Sauer redefined it as a legitimate concern of women and breached the theme of separate spheres that governed the pages. Her efforts, however, encountered considerable resistance in the male-dominated newsroom. Soft news with hard news potential created ambiguity that the rigid definition of news based on gender failed to address. Editors of other sections argued that their turf extend to the hard news that Sauer's reporters gleaned from their soft news beats. The base line was that as long as nothing significant came out of a social event, the story could run in the women's section. To fend off such belittling views of the women's section, Sauer said she had to guard her turf carefully:

> Since we normally covered social functions--dinners, luncheons, embassy receptions--I didn't feel I should yield any part of that coverage to the national desk on a state visit. I felt the toasts, a luncheon or an embassy dinner/reception were part of our story. If the visitor or high ranking guests made some significant news, I felt it belonged in our coverage, not in a separate story far away in the paper.[55]

The sometimes heated debates extended to the coverage of women's organizations. Sauer insisted that her section had the right to significant news stories on these organizations. This generally suited other editors, who usually despised the coverage of women's organizations and relegated the task to the women's section. In cases of prominent speakers addressing women's groups, however, Sauer had to fight to keep the story. "When President Truman addressed the National Council of Negro Women, President Eisenhower talked to a BPW convention, or Presidents Kennedy and Johnson spoke to the Women's National Democratic Club, the League of Women Voters, or a women's school or college, I considered it our story," said Sauer.[56] Her assertiveness won her the reputation of the *Post*'s most possessive editor and started a joke around town: If the President of the United States resigned in a speech to a women's club, *Post* readers would find the story in the women's section.[57]

In the women's section, stories on women's organizations obtained ample space and good display, which they might not receive in other sections, where they had to compete with many other hard news stories. Sauer's extensive coverage of women's organizations was especially significant in the postwar era when many of them declined in strength. For example, the League of Women Voters and the Consumer's League lost a significant number of members in this period and the Women's Trade Union disbanded in 1947.[58] Sauer recollected the setbacks of women's rights in the postwar era:

> All through the 50s women told pollsters that they favored "equal pay for equal work" and that they wanted free or low-cost child care centers. But they weren't ready to mount a "people power" or legislative lobbying campaign to push those advances through. The ERA amendment which Alice Paul wrote in 1923 and which had been introduced in every Congress since then was still blocked by conservatives on the Hill, and there was no strong feminine support for it at that time.[59]

Sauer's dedication to the coverage of women's organizations rescued them from total oblivion in the media amid the postwar emphasis on domesticity and kept issues of equal rights on the public agenda.

In Sauer's twentieth year of presiding over the women's section, The Post instituted a dramatic change in the top management. In 1965 Benjamin Bradlee, with the support of Katherine Graham, stepped over Alfred Friendly and became the managing editor. Three years later, when Russell Wiggins suddenly left the Post for an ambassadorship to the United Nations, Bradlee succeeded him as the executive editor.[60]

Consequently, by the end of 1968, two of Sauer's strongest supporters at the Post had left.

Tired of the news coverage that Friendly and Sauer emphasized in the women's section, Bradlee wanted something "modern, vital, swing." What he envisioned was a section that resembled the "back-of-the-book" coverage that news magazines gave to the arts, lifestyle, and private lives of celebrities.[61] Sauer's interest in addressing ideas and trends with social impact was in conflict with the light-hearted approach of Bradlee. She was not included in the discussion of the new format,[62] perhaps being excluded as an attempt to nudge her out of her position. Following the trail of her former supporters in the power structure of the Post, Sauer retired in 1968. Although she cited health as the reason, according to Meryl Secret, she was forced into retirement.[63]

On December 26, 1968, the Post issued a news release written in the typical ambiguous tone newspapers used in stories about their own internal affairs. Acclaiming Sauer as a pioneer in her field, the news release said she brought "relevance to women's pages, stressing coverage of politics, international affairs, and issues of major social concern at a time when many newspapers limited their sections to less significant events."[64] The tribute to Sauer belied the irony that her career ended in the birth of the Post's new lifestyle section. In a few years, what Sauer had advocated in the early 1950s--a section for women as well as men--became a trend in the newspaper industry when many metropolitan newspapers followed the lead of the Post and demolished traditional women's pages.

The current rhetoric of the newspaper industry in the revival of a special section for women highlighted its commitment to serve women readers. This study showed that an intricate web of production elements including commercial interests, professional codes of news definition and news gathering, as well as the perceived gender climate tended to overwhelm the needs of women readers in the ups and downs of women's pages. Radical changes in how women's issues and concerns were covered required more than having more women in charge as some feminist critics suggested. Operating under specific production constraints, individual women's editors such as Marie Sauer could nevertheless implement small and subversive changes by offering a perspective informed by feminist awareness. As Ishbel Ross said in 1936, "where a woman of wide newspaper experience takes hold, wonders can be done with the stepchild of the profession."[65]

Notes

1. For the revival of women's pages see James Cox, "Newspaper Court Women," USA Today, 24 November 1992, 8B, and Betsy Israel, "The Sexes, Pages of Their Own," The New York Times, 3 October 1993, sec. 9, 1.

2. Lindsy van Gelder, "Women Pages: You Can't Make News Out of a /Silk Purse," Ms. 3 (November 1974): 112-16, and Rose Mary Lents, "What's This 'Women's Editor' to Do?" The Quill 63 (February 1975): 29.

3. Cox, 8B.

4. Zerkel, Joanne. "From Milday to Ms.---Changing Tastes and Techniques." Press Woman (April 1986): 9-10.

5. Cox, 8B.

6. Anne Geracimos, "Restyling the News: The Hard Question at Newspapers Today," Avenue (October 1988): 106-18; Zena Beth Guenin, "Women's Pages in American Newspapers: Missing Out on Contemporary Content," Journalism Quarterly 52 (Spring 1975): 66-69; Susan H. Miller, "Changes in Women's/Lifestyle Sections." Journalism Quarterly 53 (Winter 1976): 641-47; Kay Mills, "Styling the News,"chap. in A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1988), 110-25; Marion Marzolf, "Peopling the Women's Pages," chap. in Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 199-218;

7. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches tend to isolate the text of women's pages from the context of production and consumption. See the studies by Guenin, Miller, and Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, "Feminism and Femininity: An Analysis of The Washington Post's Women's Pages, 1940-1970," Unpublished paper presented at the annual convention of Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Minneapolis, Minn., 8 August 1990; Judith Paterson, "Among the Hats and Gloves: The Double Message on The Women's Pages," Unpublished paper presented at the convention of American Journalism Historians Association, St. Louis, Mo., 4 October 1986.

8. See Gelder, and "Flight from Fluff," Time, 20 March 1971, 52-3; Nicholas von Hoffman, "Women's Pages: An Irreverent View," Columbia Journalism Review 10 (July-August 1971): 52-54.

9. Susan Henry, "Changing Media History through Women's History," in Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values, ed. Pamela J. Creedon (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1993), 348.

10. Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 100.

11. Marzolf, 206.

12. Genevieve Jackson Boughner, Women in Journalism (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1926), 283.

13. Schudson, 99-100.

14. Boughner, 282.

15. von Hoffman, 54.

16. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 19 October 1989.

17. Sauer, telephone interview, 11 October 1989.

18. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Eunice S. Grier, People and Government: Changing Needs in the District of Columbia, 1950-1970 (Washington, D.C.: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1973), 44-45.

22. Chalmers M. Roberts, In the Shadow of Power: The History of The Washington Post (Cabin John, Md.: Seven Locks Press, 1989), 217.

23. Roberts, 257.

24. Roberts, 263-64.

25. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

26. Ibid.

27. Madelin Dix, "Invisible Beauty Strap Does Wonderful Things for You," The Washington Post, 7 October 1952.

28. Sauer, letters to the researcher, 15 November 1989 and 18 April 1991.

29. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

30. Ibid.

31. Sharyne Merritt and Harriet Gross, "Women's Page/Lifestyle Editors: Does Sex Make a Difference?" Journalism Quarterly 55 (Autumn 1978): 508-14.

32. Meryl Secret, telephone interview, 6 December 1989.

33. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

34. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 18 April 1991.

35. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

36. Friedan argued that the core of the gender ideology in this era was the feminine mystique, which prescribed the roles of wives and mothers as the only ways for women to fulfill themselves, see Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: Norton, 1963.)

37. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

38. Mary Ryan, Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983), 279.

39. Ryan, 254.

40. William Henry Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economical, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 218.

41. Dorothy McCardle, "All You Housewives Need Organization," The Washington Post, 25 October 1952.

42 D.C. Department of Public Health, Social and Economical Characteristics (Washington D.C.: D.C. Department of Public Health, 1960), 28.

43. Lasse Lemkow and Alfred Cheval, "Mrs. Ambassador and Madame Minister Both Popular Gals," The Washington Post, 5 March 1950.

44. Diane Wooley, "Teenager Picked As Top Cadet," The Washington Post, 1 August 1954.

45. Eileen Summer, "Topic Is Women in Politics," The Washington Post, 4 August 1950.

46. "Women Claimed Equal Courage with Men, Survey Disclosed," The Washington Post, 4 March 1950.

47. Ibid.

48. "Men? No, Indeed, Living Costs, Chief Topic of Women Concerns," The Washington Post, 14 September 1949.

49. Ibid.

50. Sauer, telephone interview, 11 October 1989.

51. Roberts, 242, 400.

52. Sauer, letters to the researcher, 15 November 1989 and 18 April 1991.

53. Roberts, 400.

54. Secret, telephone interview.

55. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

56. Ibid.

57, Roberts, 345.

58. Glenda Riley, Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harland Davidson, 1987), 240.

59. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 15 November 1989.

60. Roberts, 377-78 and 395.

61. Mills, 118-19.

62. Sauer, letter to the researcher, 18 April 1991.

63. Secret, telephone interview.

64. The Washington Post, News Release, 6 December 1968, papers of the Women's National Press Club, Washington D.C.

65. Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press (New York:Harper & Bors, 1936), 427.

A REVOLUTIONIST MUST HAVE HIS SAY IN COURT EVEN IF IT KILLS HIM

Benjamin Gitlow, His Conviction for Criminal Anarchy, and What It Meant for Freedom of Speech

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A REVOLUTIONIST MUST HAVE HIS SAY IN COURT EVEN IF IT KILLS HIM

Benjamin Gitlow, His Conviction for Criminal Anarchy, and What It Meant for Freedom of Speech

The debates over the interpretation of freedom of speech as promised by the First Amendment have produced some unlikely heroes, some of them gallant, some of them sad. Benjamin Gitlow was the son of Russian Jewish immigrants who grew into a portly man with a fleshy face and bags under his eyes. With only a high school education and an aborted study of the law, he was elected to the New York State Assembly during World War I as a Socialist, eventually becoming the Communist Party's nominee for vice president in the 1928 elections on a ticket that attracted less than one percent of the vote. Not long after that he grew disillusioned with communism, eventually turning on his former comrades and naming names when testifying before Congress and in local investigations.[1]

But sad Benjamin Gitlow, who died in 1965, isn't remembered for his pitiful political career. His arrest in 1919 for violating New York state's criminal anarchy law, conviction, and appeal to the Supreme Court, where his conviction was upheld, was a significant step in the trail that led to the incorporation of the Bill of Rights to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment. The First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, and petition, six years after Gitlow was ultimately denied his own freedom, became part of all Americans' freedoms, with the states forbidden to limit them beyond any restrictions the federal government is allowed to impose. Gitlow's struggle, from the time he was arrested in 1919 until the Supreme Court upheld his conviction in 1925, produced the beginning of an extraordinary swing of opinion on the Court. Gitlow must have sensed this when he wrote just before World War II: "The history of Man is a sanguine record of stubborn struggles against oppression, of countless sacrifices for the sake of freedom."[2]

Gitlow was a victim of the fear that swept across America even after the Armistice ended World War I, which was to have made the world safe for democracy. The Red Scare of 1919-20 propelled statutes against sedition, anarchy, and criminal syndicalism through nearly half the state legislatures -- "legislation that in effect outlawed free political and economic discussion."[3] It had been less than 20 years since President McKinley had been assassinated by an anarchist in New York, and the Bolshevik Revolution had recently overrun Russia, where Communists had executed the Tsar and his family. "Tempers and imaginations already inflamed by the war against Germany were brought to a boiling point by the Communist revolution in Russia."[4] Instead of peace, Americans found themselves terrified the revolution would wash up on their shores, as one historian wrote:

> The nation was gripped by hysteria, a fear of treason, sedition, and world revolution. A state of crisis seemed real to people at the time. Syndicalists were attempting to assassinate by bombing, sensational newspapers were printing lurid stories of arms being stored in preparation for revolution, and the country was

in the throes of labor unrest and strikes. Many thought the revolution was imminent.[5]

New York's anarchy law, passed in the wake of McKinley's assassination in Buffalo in 1901, became the model for many of those passed across the country.[6] Taking advantage of the situation, the attorney general in the Wilson Cabinet, A. Mitchell Palmer, with an eye on his political future that included a possible nomination for president, fueled the fires of fear:

> Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order . . . . It was eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society.[7]

Gitlow knew Red-baiting when he saw it: "The Attorney General's office under the supervision of . . . Palmer was exploiting the Red scare for all it was worth."[8] Palmer ordered raids that rounded up more than 4,000 aliens in one night, many without warrants, to be deported without trial, although only a few actually were shipped out. However, it was a clear warning to other aliens with radical ideas to keep them to themselves.[9]

The New York state senate had formed the Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, chaired by Clayton R. Lusk, to investigate seditious activities. The "super patriots" of the Lusk Committee, spurred by the raids conducted by the U.S. attorney general, went after leftists such as Gitlow. Gitlow was one of a thousand who were hauled in. He was thrown into New York City's infamous Tombs, where he was held in lieu of $15,000 bond based on his connection with *The Revolutionary Age*, a Communist Party newspaper.[10] He made bail, and the Party hired Clarence Darrow to help defend him. Darrow knew it was a hopeless case: "I know you are innocent, but they have the country steamed up. Everybody is against the Reds."[11]

Sure enough, Gitlow was sentenced to five-to-ten years at hard labor, becoming American's first Communist prisoner in Sing Sing.[12] He was pardoned after serving nearly three years by New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, who decided he had been "sufficiently punished for a political crime,"[13] but not before his case took its permanent place in First Amendment jurisprudence. The purpose of this paper is to look at how *Gitlow v. New York* fits into the incorporation of the First Amendment rights of free speech and press through the Fourteenth Amendment.

Literature review

Contemporary literature about the Gitlow case tends to either support the Supreme Court majority's decision or praise the minority opinion of justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis. Authorities of the time immediately grasped the importance of Justice Edward T. Sanford's dictum:

> For present purposes we may and do assume that freedom of speech and of the press -- which are protected by the First Amendment from abridgment by Congress -- are among the fundamental personal rights and "liberties" protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from impairment by the States.[14]

The *Illinois Law Review* was one that quickly saw the significance,[15] as were the *Indiana Law Journal*[16] and the *West Virginia Law Quarterly*.[17] The *Illinois Law Review* quoted Justice Sanford, noting, "The Supreme Court upheld the conviction . . . as no impairment of legitimate free speech, though admitting that the Fourteenth amendment protected proper 'liberties' of this sort."[18] And the *New Republic* was absolutely prescient:

> The victories of liberty of speech must be won in the mind before they are won in the courts. In that battlefield of reason we pos-

> sess new and powerful weapons, the dissenting opinions of Justices Holmes and Brandeis. Out of this long series of legal defeats has come a group of arguments for toleration that may fitly stand beside the *Areopagitica* and Mill's *[On] Liberty*. The majority opinions determined the cases, but these dissenting opinions will determine the minds of the future.[19]

The *Illinois Law Review* was typical of those who supported the conviction of Gitlow and the Supreme Court's rejection of his appeal: "So many plausible reasons may be given for limiting the right to assemble or to bear arms that 'liberty' in these respects is rather illusory. Indeed, the same is true of free speech itself."[20]

A large majority of newspapers across the country supported the decisions. The *Brooklyn Citizen* said, "There are limits to free speech, and those limits have been recognized by all civilized countries," a thought echoed by the *New York Telegram*. The sentiment was that Americans would rejoice that immigrants would not be able to pull the United States down to the level of their home countries. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* classifed them as "the unwashed pests of radicalism."[21]

Other publishers, however, put the decision into a different perspective. *The New Republic*, with a wry sense of humor, wrote:

> Attorney General Palmer, in laying a large quantity of revolutionary material before a committee of Congressmen warned them, "It is not good reading late at night when you are at home in your own house. It gives you the creeps a little." No one need fear similar terrors from the Left Wing Manifesto, for publishing which Benjamin Gitlow's conviction has just been sustained by the Supreme Court. After twenty pages of somniferous type telling the recent history of the world, it reaches its first incendiary passage, "Strikes are developing which verge on the revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent, the strike-workers trying to usurp functions of municipal government as in Seattle and Winnipeg. The mass struggle of the proletariat is coming into being." And then fourteen pages more about destroying the bourgeois parliamentary state, with repeated exhortations to "mass strikes," "mass action," "expropriation of the bourgeoisie," and

> establishing "the dictatorship of the proletariat," until at last it winds up by prophesying "a revolutionary struggle against Capitalism" that may last for tens of years before "the final act of conquest of power."
>
> Any agitator who read these thirty-four pages to a mob would not stir them to violence, except possibly against himself. This Manifesto would disperse them faster than the Riot Act.[22]

The *New York World* analyzed the decision in a broader sense than did the newspapers that swallowed the attorney general's poison, saying the dissenters on the Supreme Court believe "that it is more consistent with American traditions to let dissentients have their say, even when they say it flamboyantly and outrageously as Gitlow did, provided there is no clear danger that speech will be an incentive to action." It said Justices Holmes and Brandeis adhere to the older and "sounder doctrine that the speech of a windbag like Gitlow which creates no 'clear and present danger' should, however much we may dislike it, nevertheless be tolerated."[23]

Research questions

The Gitlow decision was the first move toward incorporation of the First Amendment guarantees of free speech and press. In 1931, the Supreme Court firmly articulated that principle in *Near v. Minnesota*,[24] but it was Benjamin Gitlow and his radical manifesto that allowed justices Holmes and Brandeis to first articulate this principle. This article looks at the times and circumstances surrounding Gitlow, the Communists, the government and the Supreme Court from the end of World War I to 1925, when Gitlow's conviction was upheld. It will answer what precipitated the case against Gitlow; what constituted his defense and appeal; and what the media and the legal field thought of the decision. It also will briefly discuss the basis of the Supreme Court's decision and its meaning and the impact.

The Red Scare

Hysteria is not too strong a term for what swept the United States following World War I. What should have been a time of prosperity and peace became a time of persecution of radicals, Socialists, Communists, aliens, and others who were different from the majority or who were unwilling to meekly accept what was offered them. The scent of revolution was in the air. Americans were anxious about the large numbers of immigrants, "political upheavals in Europe, unprovoked bombings, inflation, unemployment, and the outbreak of hundreds of strikes through the nation."[25]

It became known as the Red Scare. The attitude that it was acceptable, even desirable, to persecute, to arrest, to prosecute, to jail, to deport, to beat and lynch and murder anti-capitalists was left over from the war. That attitude had widespread support, including that of much of the media, and it was a product of nativism. Nativism "intensified the hostility of Americans strongly antagonistic to minority groups, and brought new converts to blatant nativism from among those who ordinarily were not overtly hostile toward radicals or recent immigrants."[26]

The labor movement, representing as it did the common man and the undereducated, was the target of much of this antagonism. Labor unions were seeking the right to organize as well as promoting "radical" ideas like an eight-hour day and a 5 1/2-day work week in industries such as steel, the most important in America. During the Progressive Era, the American Federal of Labor (AFL) and the most powerful of the business corporations had a "deal" to scratch each other's backs while joining to smash their common enemy, the radical unions. During World War I, the AFL extended the deal to the federal government, but after the war it ended when the government and business felt the AFL had not kept up its end of the bargain -- i.e., it had not stamped out labor radicalism and had failed to stem the rising tide of radicalism in society.[27]

Thus, the Red Scare of 1919-20 was "a very rational response on the part of government and business elites who accurately perceived that extremely serious threats to the status quo were developing." During the year there were 3,600 strikes involving four million workers, more workers than were to strike for the next six years. One of every five workers was involved in a strike in 1919, a record never surpassed. The immediate response, in the absence of any action by Congress, was that twenty-seven states passed red flag laws, sixteen states passed criminal syndicalism laws, and twelve states passed anarchy and sedition laws. (New York already had an anarchy law on its books, prompted by the McKinley assassination; it was the model for many of the laws in the other states). By the fall of 1919, much of the public began to see all unions and strikes as revolutionary conspiracies.[28]

The AFL also had asked for the removal of all restrictions on freedom of speech, press, and association, feeling they were essential in the fight for organization, collective bargaining, and proselytizing. Business didn't want to hear of it; afraid the public would be duped into believing the unions' propaganda, it felt "it was absolutely necessary to silence agitators by casting them as immoral, irresponsible crackpots, or, in the more relevant symbolism of that day, as 'anarchists,' 'reds,' and 'Bolsheviks.'" The media fell right into line. For instance, the *Salt Lake Tribune* editorialized, "Free Speech has been carried to the point where it is an unrestrained menace." Religious organizations joined the chorus. The message to business, then, was clear. If it could get public opinion against the Reds on its side, it could break strikes and weaken unions.[29]

But what was the government's motive? Some, such as Attorney General Palmer, were spurred by dreams of higher office. Palmer, the instigator of the national raids, sought the Democratic nomination for president in 1920. He had not been in the vanguard of the pursuit of the Reds until a bomb exploded outside his house in 1919, killing the hapless bomber and narrowly missing Palmer, who minutes before had gone upstairs after bidding Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt good night. But as Palmer sensed the public's mood and felt the tug of the White House, he built his own cadre of anti-socialists, including J. Edgar Hoover, and went after the Reds. After the first session of the Palmer Raids, he told Congress, "Out of the sly and crafty eyes of many of them leap cupidity, cruelty, insanity, and crime; from the lopsided faces, sloping brows, and misshapen features may be recognized the unmistakable criminal type."[30] The raids led to public approbation, both from newspapers and the public, but they didn't lead to the nomination.[31]

Palmer went after the Reds full throttle. Saying that the Reds were criminal aliens and that the American government must prevent crime, Palmer decided there could be "no nice distinctions drawn between the theoretical ideals of the radicals and their actual violations of our national laws. . . . Every scrap of radical literature demands the overthrow of our existing government. All of it demands obedience to the instincts of criminal minds, that is, to the lower appetites, material and moral.[32]

There weren't many nice distinctions over constitutional rights, either, by state or federal officials. The raid in New York that swept up Benjamin Gitlow hauled in about 650 men and women even though only twenty-seven arrest warrants had been issued. Men walking past the house at the time were arrested if they admitted they were Russians.

Palmer said, "The evidence was examined with the utmost care, with a personal leaning toward freedom of thought and word on all questions."[33] This was disingenuous at best, a lie at worst. The chairman of the House Immigration Committee told Congress, "Free press is ours, not theirs; free speech is ours, not theirs, and they have gone just as far as we can let them go toward running over our most precious rights."[34] *The Washington Post* agreed: "There is no time to waste on hairsplitting over infringement of liberty."[35]

Three days before the mass arrests of the Palmer raids, in which about 4,000 men and women were picked up across the country, the government revoked a rule that allowed aliens access to counsel; henceforth, aliens would be represented by counsel only after the government's interests had been protected. The U.S. commissioner general said an alien could testify by "telling the truth in most instances as he saw it, without being hampered by the advice of counsel." Furthermore, aliens would be denied bail so that they could be detained until they "confessed." Hoover complained that to allow aliens out to see their lawyers "defeats the ends of justice."[36]

Hoover wasn't shy about his sentiments:

> Civilization faces its most terrible menace of danger since the barbarian hordes overran West Europe and opened the dark ages. Radicals threaten the happiness of the community, the safety of every individual, and the continuance of every home and fireside. They would destroy the peace of the country and thrust it into a condition of anarchy and lawlessness and immorality that pass imagination.[37]

These actions and statements exemplified the government's hostility toward everything foreign and subversive. The nation was struggling in peace: inflation, a sharp decline in the stock market, and a recession made it hard for returning servicemen to find jobs. Housing in New York City was tight. More importantly, society was changing. The nineteenth century had been "open, mobile, diverse, heterogeneous, fostering dissent, and welcoming ethnic variety." The new society was the "100 percent variety, which demanded national unity, conformity, homogeneity, uncritical loyalty, and an acceptance of the economic status quo." The winner was nativism.[38]

The drive to deport radicals led to the Palmer raids. Palmer passed the word in 1918: "We can insist with more emphasis than we have employed heretofore, that those who come to our shores shall come in the right spirit and with the right purpose."[39]

The Arrest of Benjamin Gitlow

Gitlow, however, was an American. One observer of his trial described him as "big, dark, wholesomely fleshy. [He seemed to have been] carved out of a huge granite rock by the sledge hammer of a master."[40] He was born to Russian-Jewish immigrants and grew up in grinding poverty. His home, however, was filled with stories of the heroes of Socialism. He was a Socialist himself by the time he was eighteen, and soon he moved into Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) activity. Gitlow was one of ten Socialists elected to the New York Assembly in 1917, representing the Bronx. When the Russian Revolution occurred, he joined the Left Wing revolution.[41] In 1919, despairing of converting the Socialist party, he and others formed the Communist Labor Party in a convention in Chicago.[42]

The IWW struck fear into the hearts of middle- and upper-class America. It was the first "effectively organized movement of militant workingmen to challenge the whole American economic system." Furthermore, the IWW and the Socialists had been against the war from the start, making it even easier to hate them. Nationally, the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 were aimed at them. "There was a clear implication that people who utilized speech as a means of gaining improper ends had to be restricted."[43]

While still allied with the Socialists, Gitlow and three other men published the Left Wing Manifesto in the soon-to-be defunct *Revolutionary Age* on July 5, 1919. That helped make him the target of the Lusk Committee. Lusk had begun his work in May, and on November 8, more than 700 policemen and special agents rounded up hundreds of people in New York City. Seventy-five, including Gitlow, were prosecuted. In all, Lusk forced the arrests of thousands of people, seized tons of radical literature, held public hearings to release some of the documents, worked with local district attorneys to help with indictments, and turned material over to the Immigration Department to help with deportation efforts. So zealous were his committee and staff that one of his female agents, after trying to become the secretary of the anarchist Emma Goldman, decided to marry one of the younger radicals to gain his confidence. Some were critical of the excesses, but most were supportive. The *New York Times* called the radicals "organized murderers" and urged the government to take the "widest possible latitude."[44] In January 1920, the New York State Legislature, urged on by the Lusk Committee, denied seats to five Socialists properly elected from the New York area. One member reportedly wanted them shot instead of expelled.[45]

Gitlow's bail was set at $15,000. When his attorney asked for a reduction, the judge refused, saying in his opinion, every member of the Communist party in New York -- still legal in the state at that time -- was guilty of criminal anarchy.[46]

This was the atmosphere in New York and the country when Benjamin Gitlow went to trial.

The Trial of Benjamin Gitlow

Benjamin Gitlow was no small fish. He was ranked tenth in rank-order of important party leaders between 1921 and 1961, even though Stalin expelled him from the party in 1929 for lack of militancy and failing to follow the international line.[47] Gitlow was arrested on charges of violating New York's criminal syndicalism law. Like most states, New York had rushed to legislate against revolutionary speech by Socialists, and their progeny, the Communists, radicals, and anarchists. But the Lusk Committee and the district attorney resurrected the unused 1902 criminal syndicalism law.

Gitlow and three other men were charged with two counts of violating the Criminal Anarchy Act, one for their association with the *Revolutionary Age* and one for printing the "Left Wing Manifesto" on July 5, 1919. A third count against the four charged them with "being evil disposed and pernicious persons" who sought to "disturb the public peace . . . and excite the good citizens of our said State to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution of this State." The government later dropped the third charge, but the four went to trial on the other two. Gitlow went first by virtue of his position as business manager of the *Revolutionary Age*; that made him more vulnerable to charges of publishing it, the prosecution decided.[48]

The prosecution's thrust was to show that the "Left Wing Manifesto" called for the violent overthrow of the U.S. government, thus violating the

Criminal Anarchy Act. Gitlow was responsible for publishing it, even though he didn't write it, the prosecution argued. The government attempted to show the Left Wing was radical and subversive. Gitlow and the Left Wing did not seek lawful, peaceful change. They sought "the destruction, the conquest, and the annihilation of the government of the United States," the government said.[49]

Gitlow's defense team consisted of two lawyers furnished by the American Civil Liberties Union and Clarence Darrow, at 63 the most famous laywer in America. Darrow sought to prove the Criminal Anarchy Act did not apply to the Manifesto and, secondly, that it was unconstitutional. Since the defense admitted Gitlow published the Manifesto, Darrow called no witnesses, hoping to win the case by convincing the jury Gitlow did not deserve to be jailed for expressing his radical opinions.[50]

Gitlow, however, did not help his case. He had agreed to have Darrow lead his defense if he could address the jury himself. Darrow did not think it a good idea but told Gitlow, "Well, I suppose a revolutionist must have his say in court even if it kills him."[51]

Gitlow did his best. "In the eyes of the present day society I am a revolutionist" and proud of it, he told the jury.[52] He went on to lecture the jury on "world history, the meaning of the Russian Revolution, the evils of capitalism, the significance of the 'Manifesto,' and the charade of American democracy which had jailed thousands of men and women because their political beliefs." Judge Bartow S. Weeks cut him off after half an hour.[53]

Then Darrow took the floor. He defended the right of revolution in his summation:

> For a man to be afraid of revolution in America would be to be ashamed of your mother. Nothing else. Revolution? There is not

> a drop of honest blood in a single man that does not look back to some revolution for which he would thank his God that those who revolted won. . . . (Those who advocate freedom of speech would want) no fetters on thought and actions and dreams and ideals of men, even the most despised of them. Whatever I may think of their prudence, what I may think of their judgment, I am for the dreamers. I would rather that every practical man shall die if the dreamer be saved. . . . Some time in the realm of ideas, in the realm of good emotions, in the realm of kindness and brotherly feeling, we may find truth that is higher than men, and gentlemen, no one has the right to stand in the way of finding it.[54]

The Manifesto was Gitlow's dream, Darrow told the jury, but Judge Weeks instructed the jury that freedom of speech should not enter its deliberations: "The law of this state is that the statute under which this defendant is charged is not an invasion of any right of free speech." The jury found Gitlow guilty in 45 minutes, and six days later, on February 11, 1920, the judge sentenced him to five-to-ten years at hard labor.[55] During sentencing, Weeks criticized Gitlow for earning a salary of only $41 a week and for not having accumulated any property.[56] With that, Gitlow was off to Sing Sing.

The Appeals and the Supreme Court

Gitlow and the American Civil Liberties Union attorneys appealed, saying the statute did not apply to Gitlow's publication and anyway the First Amendment, as it applied to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteed him freedom of speech and press. However, they had no success. One year later, on April 1, 1921, a unanimous Appeals Court ruled New York's Criminal Anarchy Act did not offend the guarantee of personal liberty under the Fourteenth Amendment or freedom of speech. "The Constitution places no restraint on the power of the legislature to punish the publication of matter which is injurious to society . . . ; *Neither does it deprive the State of* *the primary right of self-preservation*," Judge Frank C. Laughlin wrote. Later in the decision he elaborated:

> Under the provisions imposing a responsibility upon the citizens for the abuse of the right freely to speak, write or publish his sentiments on all subjects, the citizen not only becomes responsible to any one injured by the abuse of this right but, consistently with these constitutional provision and with (the Fourteenth Amendment), he may also be made answerable to the State criminally therefor.[57]

At the next level Gitlow swung two state supreme court judges over to his side, but he lost his second appeal nonetheless. Judge Frederick E. Crane admitted the five-to-ten-year sentence "might have been heavy," but he said, "I think a reading of the Revolutionary Age . . . justifies the conclusion of the jurors . . . that the defendant was guilty." Crane gave Gitlow short shrift:

> We shall spend no time in discussing the proposition urged upon us that this statute is unconstitutional because it interferes with that freedom of speech and discussion which is secured by the Constitution. Every intelligent person recognizes that one of the great rights secured to the citizens of this country is that of free and fearless discussion of public questions including even the merits and shortcomings of our government. It would be intolerable to think that any attempt could be successfully made to impair such right. But the difference between such forms of discussion and the advocacy of the destruction of government itself by means which are abhorrent to the entire spirit of our institutions is so great that we deem it entirely unnecessary to support at length the proposition that the legislature of this state may prohibit the latter without infringing the former.[58]

The two judges who would have overturned Gitlow's conviction were of significant stature, but they still were only two of nine votes: Cuthbert W. Pound, who wrote the dissent, and Benjamin N. Cardozo. Pound never mentioned the First Amendment in his dissent, saying simply that "the question, in clear terms, is not whether this is the doctrine of sedition, criminal conspiracy and rebellion against our form of government, but whether this is the doctrine of criminal anarchy."[59]

Two appeals, two losses. Gitlow's attorneys, Walter H. Pollak and Walter Nelles (Darrow did not represent Gitlow beyond the jury trial), went to the U.S. Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari. At the urging of Justice Louis Brandeis, who questioned whether the New York courts considered the Fourteenth Amendment, the highest court in the land voted to hear the case of the Communist against the state of New York.[60]

Nelles outlined his plan in a letter written to the attorney general of North Dakota before the Court handed down its decision. He said the defense team wanted to make a clear distinction between the private right of free speech and the public right "not only freely to utter, but also freely to hear all kinds of advocacies and opinions." Nelles agreed there was no constitutional immunity for verbally inflicting or nearly inflicting injuries. "A sound democratic state, however, may credit itself with a far greater immunity from dangers of verbal acts than a private individual." The government could "laugh at" the danger. "In a world of diverse interests and circumstances we cannot hope for a uniformity of points of view. Our job is not to push each other off the earth, but to strike a working balance between conflicting points of view. This we cannot do unless we listen to them," Nelles wrote.[61]

The attorneys argued that the state had restricted Benjamin Gitlow's freedom of speech and assembly and that the law did not apply to the Manifesto. Pollak and Nelles' brief said that Gitlow was alleged to have committed a crime by publishing *The Revolutionary Age* "without evidence of any concrete result and without the proximate likelihood of any such concrete result." That meant the Court had to rule on the constitutionality of making "advocacy *per se* . . . without regard to circumstances a crime." Furthermore, "an exercise of the right of free expression is not in itself a proper subject of punishment." The Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed the liberty of expression, even of Communists, and the right of assembly was like the right of free speech. Saying "political advocacy was immune from seditious libel," the attorneys argued, "The New York statute rests upon the same principle as the Federal Sedition Law of 1798 -- a principle which this Court and every department of the government subsequently condemned upon constitutional grounds. . . . The New York statute is invalid under the general principal of the law of due process."[62]

John C. Myers responded for the state, saying Gitlow was not tried for heresy; he was tried because he advocated the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence. He reasoned that the state had the right to make it a crime to abuse the right of free of speech. Myers said part of the price citizens pay for civilized government is surrendering the absolute right to complete freedom of speech. Noting that his attorneys offered that the Fourteenth Amendment gave Gitlow the right to advocate the overthrow of government by force, Myers said the state was not without power to protect itself. "The doctrine of criminal anarchy is not a political doctrine. . . . It is monstrous to say that anyone living under our government has a constitutional right to advocate with impunity the doctrine that a minority of people have the right to overthrow our government by unlawful means," he argued.[63]

The Supreme Court twice heard arguments in the case and didn't hand down its decision until more than two years after the first hearing. In a decision written by Justice Edward T. Sanford, the Court rejected the clear-and-present-danger test articulated by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes six years earlier. Instead, the Court resurrected the "bad tendency" test from before World War I, which meant that states could punish words for their bad nature regardless of whether they actually caused any particular results. In other words, a legislature "could brand certain ideas and sentiments dangerous to society and outlaw their dissemination."[64]

Holmes, in a dissent joined by Brandeis, punctured that argument:

> *Every* idea is an incitement. It offers itself for belief and if believed it is acted on unless some other belief outweighs it or some failure of energy stifles the movement of its birth. The only difference between the expression of an opinion and an incitement in the narrower sense is the speaker's enthusiasm for the result. Eloquence may set fire to reason. If in the long run the beliefs expressed in a proletarian dictatorship are destined to be accepted by the dominant forces of the community, the only meaning of free speech is that they should be given their chance and have their way.[65]

The immediate importance of *Gitlow*, however, was the incorporation of the Bill of Rights to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Sanford's dictum meant that state constitutions and statutes could give their citizens *more* freedom than the U.S. Constitution, but not less. It also gave the U.S. Supreme Court the right to review abridgments of First Amendment rights by state laws and municipal ordinances.

Up until *Gitlow*, the Court had no specific agenda on incorporation. Instead, the paragraph by Sanford was a reaction to citizens' complaints that they should have an avenue of redress when their rights were curtailed by the states. It was the first time the Constitution was interpreted as a restriction on state actions.[66] It was the end of allowing states to suppress all forms of nonconformity.

The Reaction of the Media

There was little sympathy for Gitlow among the media of the time. The editorial of *The New York Times*, Gitlow's home town, was typical:

> Yesterday's decision of the Supreme Court in the Gitlow case is, in its eminence, simply a reaffirmation of an old principle of law and government. Any constituted Government is entitled to protect itself against overthrow by violence. . . . There is such a thing as a moral peril in addition to one merely physical. And the Supreme Court is of the opinion that an open incitement to violence against the State is a moral peril against which the State may lawfully protect itself by a stringent statute. . . . This is no denial of free speech.[67]

The *Literary Digest* captured the feeling of other newspapers:

- *Philadelphia Bulletin*: A contrary decision "would have made the Constitution the bulwark of the revolutionary agitation that hates it and seeks to destroy it."

- *Boston Post*: "We have had too many severe lessons to take threats against the Government lightly. A mere handful of men with the proper weapons could destroy in a day the vital machinery of a city. It is useless to argue that their fiery language does not mean what it says. It does, and only the opportunity is lacking to allow the rude proof of it. Theories are all right but not much use to a man with a gun pointed at his head. He isn't likely to theorize on whether it is loaded or not."

- *Brooklyn Citizen*: "Governments have been overthrown, as the example of Russia shows, by a handful of audacious conspirators. . . . Gitlow's conviction was merited and when he comes out of prison, he should be instantly deported."[68]

- *Boston Evening Transcript*: Without such a ruling "the enemies of the United States who are boasting daily over their successes in inciting murderous disorder all over the world, would have been free to spread their devastation in this country."[69]

The *Christian Century* noted that the decision of the justices reflected the feelings of the public: "The law may be blind, but it has nerves that root deep in the public mind."[70] *The Nation* noted: "By its decision the Supreme Court has presumably legalized all, or nearly all, of the 'anti-sedition' and 'anti-syndicalist' laws which a majority of our States passed in the 'red' scare just after the Armistice; but it has not made them either just or wise."[71]

Only bare handful of newspapers attempted to rise to Gitlow's defense or to criticize the decision. One scholar 16 years after the Supreme Court decision summed up the lack of media outrage over the arrests and convictions: "The First Amendment apparently did not assume its traditional significance for many of the American Fourth Estate whose dissenting voices had been muffled in wartime."[72]

Among those that recognized the importance of the decision, the *New Republic* lamented that the Supreme Court had abandoned Justice Holmes' clear-and-present-danger test and readopted the "bad tendency" test:

> Without the danger test, freedom of speech means little more than the right to say what a considerable number of citizens regard as sound, which consequently is not likely to be prosecuted. For novel and unpopular ideas, where alone it is really needed, it seems no longer to exist as a legal right.[73]

Only a small handful of papers saw problems with the government's methods. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* wrote: "Free government cannot be saved by the destruction of the pillars upon which it stands -- free speech, free assemblage, and freedom from official oppression in any form." And the *San Francisco Examiner* added, "These officials are trying to change our laws so that any American citizen who DISAGREES WITH THEIR IDEAS or advocates a change in government may be sent to jail for twenty years."[74]

The Reaction of the Legal Community

The legal community was quick to recognize the significance of Sanford's dictum in *Gitlow*. It also divided along political lines on the substitution of the bad tendency test for the clear-and-present-danger test. The conservative side, such as the *Nebraska Law Bulletin*, said the state should not protect someone dedicated to its overthrow, even when there was little or no chance he would succeed. Liberals felt the decision supported a restriction of liberty.[75]

One observer said it was an example of how constitutional law grows. The dissent in Gitlow eventually became common law. Writing in *Harvard Law Review*, Charles Warren noted that in 1907, the Court had declined to decide whether free speech was incorporated through the Fourteenth Amendment; in 1920 it did not consider or decide it but simply conceded it; in 1922, it said the Constitution did not impose on the states on obligation to confer free speech; but in 1925, it "assumed" freedom of speech and press were fundamental liberties protected by the Due Process Clause. "Thus . . . every one of the rights contained in the Bill of Rights ought to be and must be included within the definition of 'liberty,' and must be held to be guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment against deprivation by a State 'without due process of law.'"[76]

Did this allow "too much" free speech? Hugh E. Willis wrote in the *Indiana Law Journal*: "In war time the dominant hysterical majority thought they gave too much freedom of speech and of the press. In peace time the dominant majority, regaining its sanity, is beginning to think that they give too much social control."[77]

As *The Law Quarterly Review* summed up, there was "sharp conflict" on the law on freedom of speech. After the changes in the Court's personnel were considered, twelve justices had rejected the clear-and-present-danger test, but where was the Court going?[78]

Gitlow after His Day in Court

Benjamin Gitlow served more than two years in prison. While in Sing Sing in 1921, he petitioned to have his address changed so that he could run for mayor of New York as the Workers' League candidate. The Board of Elections barred him.[79] In 1922, his petition to run as an independent candidate for Congress was denied by the same Board.[80] In 1925, just before Christmas, Gov. Alfred E. Smith pardoned him. Earlier, when Smith pardoned one of Gitlow's cohorts, he said, "Political progress results from the clash of conflicting opinions. The public assertion of an erroneous doctrine is perhaps the surest way to disclose the error and make it evident to the electorate."[81]

Gitlow headed straight to Philadelphia to address the International Ladies' Garment Worker's Union, where they had to find a larger hall to accommodate everyone who wanted to hear him. The 300 delegates rose and sang the "Internationale" when his pardon was announced.[82] Back in New York, 2,500 people greeted him, and he picked up where he left off, urging workers to revolt.[83]

In 1928 he was the Communists' nominee for vice president. A newspaper editorialized, "There is just one good purpose served by the Communist party convention. It serves to show how abjectly 'Red' propaganda has failed in the United States, and how completely the country has recovered from the hysteria into which [its] antics used to throw it seven or eight years ago."[84]

Gitlow worked with splinter Communist groups following his expulsion and then turned completely against the Communist party, disillusioned. He became a professional informer, writing, speaking, and testifying about the Communist conspiracy around the country. In the end, he became publicly identified with McCarthyism.[85]

Conclusion

The Red Scare that followed World War I resulted in the abrogation of rights of thousands of Americans, most of them on the political left and extreme left. More than half the states passed anti-radical laws, and as a result of the surge in nativism thousands were arrested, many without proper warrants. Benjamin Gitlow was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to five-to-ten years in prison for printing *The Communist Manifesto* in 1919. At each of the three levels of his trial, Gitlow's attorneys urged that the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech protected him. The Supreme Court, in dictum, said that the freedoms of speech and press indeed were protected from abridgment by the states. However, the Court, invoking the bad tendency test, ruled Gitlow's conviction was proper. The bad tendency test allowed courts to prohibit or punish speech if it had a tendency to undermine government or to corrupt the morals of some members of society. It provided virtually no First Amendment protection for freedom of speech, for expression could be halted or punished if it presented the slightest tendency to cause substantial evil.

Thus the bad tendency test, the most repressive First Amendment doctrine of all, again was the official stance of the U.S. Supreme Court after *Gitlow*. However, Justice Sanford had constructed a foundation "for judicial activism in defense of speech, should a later Court wish to undertake such a role."[86]

Now states were under the U.S. Constitution when it came to regulating speech and other First Amendment freedoms. Zechariah Chafee said 30 years later it was the greatest victory for free speech in his lifetime.[87]

The Supreme Court decision in *Gitlow* made it possible for there to be national standards not only in free speech and press but in every other right guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and subsequent amendments. Prior to World War I, the Supreme Court had rarely dealt with freedom of expression. *Gitlow* was the first peacetime case involving free speech to be decided by the Court. The decision in *Gitlow* meant that for the first time the Court proceeded on the assumption that the liberty in the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment meant liberty of expression, including speech and press. This meant that personal freedoms were entitled to constitutional protection against state infringement. In a sense, the Court nationalized the Bill of Rights, saying that state governments would be under the U.S. Constitution when trying to regulate words and deeds. Thus, substantive due process now applied to criminal cases as well as civil ones. In one sentence, the Court brought protection of rights, that until 1925 had been assumed to be under the control of state courts, into the forum of the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court, since then, has continuously ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause means that the states cannot infringe on fundamental rights or liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The *Gitlow* decision has allowed the Supreme Court to apply the First Amendment to protect us from actions by states and municipalities as well as the federal government.

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[4] Martin Shapiro and Douglas S. Hobbs, *American Constitutional Law: Cases and Analyses* (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, 1978), 396.

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[6] Ibid.

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[20] Hall, "Comment," 809.

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[22] "The Gitlow Case," *The New Republic*, 1 July 1925, 141.

[23] "Free Speech, Limited," *The Literary Digest* 10.

[24] 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

[25] Harold Josephson, "Political Justice during the Red Scare: The Trial of Benjamin Gitlow," in *American Political Trials*, ed. Michal R. Belknap (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981): 155. For more description of the times, see also Harold L. Nelson, ed., *Freedom of the Press from Hamilton to the Warren Court* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967), *xxxii-xxxiii*; Paul L. Murphy, "Sources and Nature of Intolerance in the 1920s," *The Journal of American History* 51 (June 1964): 60.

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Weinberg, *Clarence Darrow*, 290.

[52] Ibid., 291.

[53] Josephson, *Political Justice*, 161.

[54] Weinberg, *Clarence Darrow*, 291.

[55] Jospehson, *Political Justice*, 161.

[56] Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 202.

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[67] "When Anarchy is Criminal," *New York Times*, 9 June 1925, 20.

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THE MISCONDUCT
OF THE
NEW ENGLAND COURANT

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Submitted to the 1994 paper competition of the American Journalism Historians Association

Abstract

THE MISCONDUCT OF THE *NEW ENGLAND COURANT*

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The *New England Courant*, begun in Boston in 1721, was the third newspaper published in that colony. The editor of the paper, James Franklin, had no intention of duplicating the journalistic fare offered in the other papers. With this goal, Franklin employs a unique and unusual style that has profound effects of the society in which it was published.

It may be argued that the paper had negative consequences or that it had contributory effects on freedom of the press in Boston. However, this paper holds that it is more plausible that the newspaper's approach was to wreak havoc on the political and religious leaders of the day and establish a policy of producing inside jokes, needless innuendo and inappropriate gossip along the way.

Evidence for this can be found in three instances with the *Courant*. First is the inoculation controversy, in which the paper temporarily halted the alleviation of the terrifying disease of smallpox. Second is the inclusion of the "Silence Dogood" essays, written by the young contributor Benjamin Franklin, James's younger brother. These letters summed up the agenda of the *Courant* by adding wit and humor to the fare it offered. Finally, the bouts that James Franklin had with the local government are evident of Franklin's immature excursions.

This misconduct on the part of the "Couranteers" prevented James Franklin from making any contribution toward the establishment of freedom of the press in Boston. If Franklin had been a more responsible editor and addressed the issues of Boston society in a more mature manner, then perhaps Franklin would have created the opportunity to further press freedom in the American colonies.

Submitted to the 1994 paper competition of the American Journalism Historians Association

THE MISCONDUCT OF THE *NEW ENGLAND COURANT*

Cotton Mather, Puritan clergyman and minister of Boston's North Church, was walking down a street in Boston one day in November, 1721, feeling depressed and defeated. A printer by the name of James Franklin had relentlessly been causing Mather much grief during the latter months of that year. Franklin was the editor of the *New England Courant*, and he had been using the unmannerly little publication as an organ to launch an attack on the Puritan ministers in Boston--namely Cotton Mather and his father Increase, who were supporting the new medical procedure of inoculation to overcome a deadly smallpox epidemic that had been plaguing the town. By November, Mather had discovered that the tide of public opinion was strongly against him.[1]

These things were on Mather's mind on that late autumn day, when he happened upon James Franklin himself, and confronted him. Mather possibly did not expect to see his adversary, but more certainly, Franklin did not anticipate crossing paths with the old clergyman. It was with "an air of great displeasure," Franklin wrote later, which Mather "attack'd" him, saying "You make it your business, in the paper called the *Courant*, to vilify and abuse the ministers of this town. There are many curses which await those that do so." Mather then left Franklin standing in the street with the curt words: "I have no more to say to you." [2]

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[1] 28 November 1721, Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1724*, 2 Vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), 2:657-58. These feelings of Mather had been climaxed by a narrowly escaped assassination attempt earlier in the month.

Franklin was not the least bit moved by Mather's words. Reporting the incident in the *Courant* a few weeks later, Franklin stated that he was acting only as an impartial printer and was inviting contributors to "speak their Minds with Freedom, Sense and Moderation." [3]

Mather, not feeling any better after his chance meeting with Franklin, recorded in his diary: "Warnings are to be given unto the wicked Printer, and his Accomplices, who every week publish a vile paper to lessen and blacken the Ministers of the town...," Mather got progressively discouraged about the havoc the "vile Paper" had created since its inception in August of 1721 and during the last days of that year. He eventually wrote, "...I begin to feel some Hazards, lest my Troubles whereof I have a greater share than any Minister in the Country, grow too hard for me, and unfit me and unhinge me for my services." [4] In this mood, early in 1722, Mather implied at a meeting of ministers that he was considering moving his ministry from Boston, saying: "I have entirely ruined myself as to this world, and rendered it really too hott a place for me to continue in."[5]

Such were the incidents and sentiments created by the rebellious little newspaper called the *New England Courant*.

This spirit of rebellion was inherent in the upstart paper from the beginning. The appearance of the *Courant* was a bold and brazen departure from the journalistic approach of the other newspapers of Boston. Offering controversial opinion pieces and selected British literary fare, the *Courant* was printed free from government involvement and, indeed, eventually became a nuisance to the government.

The *New England Courant* owed its birth primarily to one circumstance: the deadly smallpox epidemic in Boston in 1721 and the introduction of a controversial new method of dealing with it--inoculation. Franklin began his attacks in the paper at once on Mather's advocacy of the new and dangerous medical procedure. From that point, the *New England Courant* proceeded during its short-lived publication span (five years) to continue to make Boston's Puritan clergy and eventually the government its foe and set up a campaign to pursue the smallpox and any other issue that happened to look worthy to Franklin. By setting this agenda, the *Courant* inaugurated many changes, good and bad, yet made its place in the history of colonial journalism.

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[2] *New England Courant*, 27 November 1721.
[3] Ibid., 4 December 1721.
[4] 16 January 1722, Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:667.
[5] See statement to the ministers of Boston, Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:670-71.

It is a unique and unusual journalistic style and its effects on the Boston culture that has given the *New England Courant* much attention in the past. It may be argued that the paper had negative consequences or that it had contributory effects on freedom of the press in Boston. It is more plausible that the *New England Courant*'s approach was to wreak havoc on the political and religious leaders of the day and establish a policy of producing inside jokes, needless innuendo and inappropriate gossip along the way. Though these characteristics gave the paper its personality, its downfall was eventually brought by the fact that the *Courant* was being used as a vehicle for mockery and sarcasm.

Though these properties can be seen in the *Courant* throughout its publication span, they are particularly embodied in three distinct events in which the paper involved itself. First was the inoculation controversy, in which the paper temporarily halted the alleviation of the terrifying disease called smallpox. Second was the inclusion of the Silence Dogood essays, written by the young contributor Benjamin Franklin. These letters summed up the agenda of the *Courant* by adding wit and humor to the fare it offered. Finally, the rounds that James Franklin had with the local government in 1722 and 1723 and his subsequent imprisonment may seem today as if they were noble fights for press freedom. However, considering when these particular events happened, it probably evident that they were juvenile follies between Franklin and the local government.

Some media historians have written of this episode in journalism history primarily from the perspective of James Franklin producing a protest paper and then unintentionally using it to describe the early career of Benjamin Franklin.[6] They have interpreted the inclusion of the *New England Courant* in journalism history as a sort of promoter of press freedom but did not elaborate on the paper's journalistic approach. Other works have dealt specifically with the *Courant*, analyzing individual aspects that have become a part of its history. The paper has been analyzed in references to religious influences and its conflicts, since religion was an important factor in everyday life in colonial society. The *Courant* was clearly an organ for Anglicanism and therefore sought to oppose the Puritan leaders since one of the Couranteers, John Checkley, was an ardent Anglican and another, William Douglass, was also devoted to that church.[7]

However, one of the most discussed topics concerning the *Courant* is the smallpox epidemic and the practice of inoculation. The episode has been addressed and interpreted widely by journalism historians primarily because of its importance in the development of the press. Most interpretations have been a narration of the episode, in light of the *Courant*'s involvement, but some have offered different interpretations.[8] Nevertheless, the inoculation issue was what gave James Franklin the platform that was needed to launch the *Courant*.

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[6] See Sidney Kobre, *Development of Colonial Journalism* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Colonial Press, Inc., 1944), 30-36.

[7] See Wm. David Sloan, "The *New England Courant*: Voice of Anglicanism," *American Journalism* 9 (1991): 108-141. Sloan holds that "the *Courant* was founded not to free Bostonians from religious control, but as a part of a long-term effort to destroy Puritan popularity and establish...the Church of England as the official church in Massachusetts Bay and other British colonies in North America."

[8] See C. Edward Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," *Journalism History* 7 (1980):16-19, 40. Wilson argues that the *Courant*'s opposition to the inoculation procedure "hardly constituted a crusade," and that the local government sided with Franklin on the issue, and that the "colonial government was either neutral or impotent in respect to newspapers at the time."

Indeed, the founding of the *New England Courant*, its role in the controversy over the Boston smallpox inoculation, and its temporary defiance of official Boston creates a colorful and significant story in American journalism and the more so because it involves Benjamin Franklin.[9] The younger Franklin's contributions to the paper in the form of a series of letters embrace the paper's witty approach. Though Ben was only sixteen-years-old at the time, the wit and sophistication of the letters were on a level that equaled the Ben Franklin of later years.

James Franklin, Benjamin's older brother, launched the *Courant* on August 7, 1721. Franklin was a kind of rebel who possessed an entrepreneurial spirit, which was necessary to compete with Boston's other established printers. Having been trained in a London print shop, he had seen the coffeehouses where the London wits read and wrote sheets like the *Review*, the *Tatler*, and the *Spectator*. After arriving in Boston from London with his own press in 1717, Franklin originally helped postmaster William Brooker start the *Boston Gazette* in 1719, the third newspaper in the American colonies.[10] Within a few months of his appointment to the postmastership, Brooker was out of office, Phillip Musgrave having succeeded him. Brooker let Musgrave have the *Gazette*, the printing of which the new postmaster promptly took away from James Franklin in August 1720. Franklin was therefore reduced to making a living off occasional odd printing jobs for the next year. Nevertheless, he overlooked this turn of events and saw the opportunity to become involved with his own newspaper with the help of a few compatriots in 1721, when he was twenty-four years old.

The *New England Courant* was the first really independent newspaper in the American colonies and the first since Benjamin Harris's ill-fated, one issue *Public Occurrences* not to be

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[9] For Franklin's account, see Rev. H. Hastings Weld, *Benjamin Franklin: His Autobiography; With a Narrative of His Public Life and Services* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), 28-32. Considering Franklin's comments in his paltry account of the story of his brother's paper, James Franklin seems to remain forever a part of Benjamin's contempt for him.

[10] Brooker began the *Gazette* when former postmaster John Campbell objected to relinquishing the *Boston News-Letter* when he left the postmastership.

"published by authority."[11] The opportunity Franklin saw was materializing in the dissent that had grown in Boston and in the increased dissatisfaction with the religious leaders. The dispute centered around the issue of smallpox inoculation, hailed by Cotton and Increase Mather as the solution to the epidemic.

The newspaper immediately began attacking the Puritan clergy, namely the Mathers, for advocating inoculation with the initial outbreak of smallpox. This medical issue soon became magnified as a social and political one, for Franklin used the inoculation idea as a platform to attack his Puritan opponents, who were a part of the recognized leaders of colonial Boston. Obviously, Franklin was not interested in duplicating the fare offered in Boston's two other established newspapers. One wishes, however, that he had chosen a different issue for, in this case, Franklin was actually standing in the way of medical progress.

Moreover, since the *Courant* was not required to be "printed by authority," Franklin was now able to set out to be a champion of free expression and of the people's interest. As long as he crusaded against the smallpox inoculation procedure, he had a safe issue.

It has become evident through historical research in recent years, however, that James Franklin was not the mastermind behind the beginning of the *New England Courant*. Franklin was part of a trio that was chiefly responsible for the publication.

A well-known person in the threesome next to Franklin was William Douglass, a Scottish born doctor of medicine and the only one in Boston with a medical degree. Douglass sought to protest the advance of inoculation in Boston because he was miffed that Cotton Mather had not consulted him about the procedure before announcing it to the people of Boston. Douglass claimed that Mather had done this for personal glorification and intended to seek his revenge in the *Courant*.[12]

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[11] Both the *Boston News-Letter* and the *Boston Gazette* were affiliated directly or indirectly with the Boston postmastership position which was appointed by the government.

Next was John Checkley, who, at forty-one, was the oldest member of the group. Checkley was a Boston-born but Oxford-educated collector and seller of rare books, paintings and manuscripts and had traveled widely in Europe. A devout Anglican, Checkley had written anti-Puritan pamphlets and two books defending the Church of England and had been arrested for them before. He provided the keynote wit for the paper, patterned after an essay in London's *Spectator*.

Summarily, it should be noted here that because of the trio's British origins, the *Courant* becomes characterized by the European experiences of the group. Therefore, one might indeed find here an enhanced familiarity with the European literary fashions of the day.

With the *Courant's* first number of August 7, 1721, James Franklin declared: "The undertaker promises, that nothing shall here be inserted, reflecting on the clergy...nor relating to affairs of government, and no trespass against Decency or good manner."[13] The paper did not quite live up to this announcement. With the *Courant's* first issue, attacks on inoculation were brought forth and immediately caused the *Boston Gazette* and the *Boston News-Letter* to step aside. This forced some Bostonians to take note of the impact the new paper was having in Boston. Some did not like the impact. A writer in the *News-Letter* found the *Courant* "full freighted with Nonsence, Unmannerliness, Raillery, Prophetess, Immorality, Lyes,...and what not, all tending to Quarrels and Divisions, and to Debauch and Corrupt the Minds and Manners of New England."[14] This was typical of the responses of the other Boston newspapers. However, they would soon be affected by the *Courant*'s new type of journalism.

James Franklin remained calm in the face of such attacks simply because the government was actually incapable of controlling the press. Licensing, a formality largely disregarded by Boston printers for years, no longer seemed a threat. In March of 1721, Massachusetts governor Samuel Shute reminded the General Court that the king had given him authority to license publications and asked the legislators for a law to use against "Factious & Scandalous papers." The House, which cared little for the governor, refused to comply, citing the "innumerable inconveniences and dangerous Circumstances this People might Labour under in a little time."[15] This all allowed James Franklin to publish what he desired during those waning summer days of 1721.

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[12] See the "W. Philanthropos" letter in the *Boston News-Letter*, 24 July, 1721.
[13] *New England Courant*, 7-14 August, 1721.
[14] *Boston News-Letter*, 28 August 1721.

The marriage of the *Courant* and the inoculation issue brought forth the introduction of real controversial writing. Writing about the inoculation issue made the articles controversial because the whole concept of inoculation, that one could prevent the disease by causing it, seemed absolutely illogical to most of Boston's residents. This provided the *Courant* with much support from the community and gave it an excuse to attack the Puritan leaders in Boston.

Smallpox was an epidemic disease that was imported on boats coming to the Americas. It swept through the colonies at intervals--sometimes a generation apart--and would afflict large numbers of adults. The disease became a terrifying problem that could paralyze a community and force regular activities of commerce and government to stop. This was the approaching situation in colonial Boston in the summer of 1721.

It was Cotton Mather, having read about the procedure of inoculation in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, who on June 6, 1721, suggested to the physicians of Boston that they use it to fight the further spread of smallpox.[16] However, the inoculation was a cumbersome and risky procedure, still very much in its experimental stage, involving the manipulation of infected tissue into a surgical incision in the uncertain hope that the resulting preventive case of smallpox would be mild enough to avoid death. Receiving no response from his suggestion, Mather proceeded to write Dr. Zabdiel Boylston on June 24 and encouraged him to try the procedure.[17]

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[15] *General Court Records*, Massachusetts Archives, Boston, Massachusetts, 11, p.113, quoted in Clyde Augustus Duniway, *The Development of Freedom on the Press in Massachusetts* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906), 95.
[16] Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 345.

Therefore, in the *Boston Gazette* of July 17, 1721, Dr. Boylston announced in a lengthy advertisement that he had successfully inoculated one of his children and two slaves, and that he intended to continue "artificially giving the Small-Pocks," and recommended the method despite an "abundance of Clamour and Railry" against him for trying it.

The main source for all the "clamour" was William Douglass, who was the author of a long criticism of the experiment signed "W. Philanthropos," that John Campbell published in his *News-Letter* on July 24. Ironically, it was Douglass who had lent Mather the copy of *Philosophical Transactions* that had set off the storm in the first place.[18] Having published the Philanthropos letter, Douglass was able to lead the opposition against Mather and the Puritan clergy, establishing many of his attacks on Boylston's lack of medical training. Indeed, the Boston populace was well up in arms about inoculation, as Mather's *Diary* fully illustrates.[19] Moreover, Douglass tried to appear more knowledgeable than Mather by charging that Boylston and Mather, instead of relying solely on God to fight the disease, were restoring to "the extra groundless *Machinations of Men*."[20]

As the lines began to be drawn in this heated debate, the *New England Courant* burst upon the scene. The *Courant* had grown out of these disruptive social forces in Boston to set its own agenda, transforming the inoculation issue by making itself a part of the controversy. The *Courant* boldly took the anti-inoculation stance and immediately charged the Puritan clergy with advocating the medical procedure and attacking other Boston notables while sowing sarcasm and distasteful humor. By doing this Franklin assured his publication popular support. The paper was beginning to show its immaturity when it included in its second number a piece of black humor on "a project for reducing the Eastern Indians by Inoculation."[21] Also in this issue Franklin acknowledged the difficulty of providing sufficient wit to keep the paper going and so asked his friends to send in "some short Pieces, Serious; Sarcastick, Ludicrous, or otherways amusing." [22] Obviously, Franklin did not want his paper to be dull.

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[17] Kenneth G. Silverman, *Selected letters of Cotton Mather* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 337-343. See also Brenda M. Lawson, *Manuscripts on the History of Medicine at the Massachusetts Historical Society*, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 106 vols. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 103:160-162.
[18] Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 624.
[19] Ibid., 631-35, entries for July 16, 18, 30.
[20] *Boston News-Letter*, 7 July, 1721.

The *Courant* solidified its immature character when it brought up Cotton Mather's defense of the Salem witch trials in 1692. In that year, the community of Salem began prosecuting more persons as witches than previously, by accepting abstract evidence instead of the normal procedure of using what the leaders of Salem thought were valid eyewitness accounts. In May, 1692, before the new practice was used, Cotton Mather pleaded to the Salem judges not to employ the use of this weaker evidence in the case against the accused, for "it is very certain that the divells have sometimes represented the shapes of persons not only innocent, but also very virtuous."[23]

Nevertheless, the Salem officials did not listen. Therefore, from June through September, 1692, hundreds of residents were jailed and twenty were executed. But the young Mather did not publicly condemn Salem justice. It took his father, Increase, after his return from England, to put a stop to the predicament by writing a pamphlet that exposed the judicial practices of the community and condemned the use of impractical evidence in the witch trials.[24]

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[21] *New England Courant*, 14 August 1721.
[22] Ibid.
[23] 14 May 1692, Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1:150-51.
[24] See Increase Mather, *Cases of Conscience* (Boston, 1692), cited in Marvin Olasky, *Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A narrative History* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), 35.

The Salem government paid attention to Increase Mather's eye-opening writing, and the executions immediately stopped. Afterwards, Cotton Mather realized he performed badly in the witch trial controversy. Lives were lost by his inaction. Finally, in 1721, he realized he could redeem himself by supporting inoculation and prevent other lives from being lost. However, Mather's bravery in the small-pox controversy ironically brought up the tales of his former cowardly behavior in the *New England Courant*.

In the *Courant*'s opposition to Mather's support of the inoculation procedure, his defense of the Salem witch trials was dug back up and Franklin's paper argued that Mather was misled then and misled now. The fact that Franklin and his associates would do this clearly indicates that they had an immature approach to the practice of journalism. The residents of Massachusetts did not need to be reminded of that dark spot on its history, especially Cotton Mather. However, Mather did not give in this time, as he did twenty-eight years earlier. Because the *Boston Gazette* favored inoculation, Mather and his followers had a willing vehicle for their defense. Cotton Mather had every intention of making this his finest hour.

Meanwhile, as Boston's 12,000 residents contracted the disease and more than 800 died, Franklin again showed the *Courant*'s adolescent nature: he cheerfully reported his subscription gains of the past few weeks.[25] Moreover, he warned the Mathers, he could say of the *Courant* and himself "what a Connecticut trader once said of his onions: '*the more they are curs'd, the more they will grow*.'" Also, rumors being spread that the government was about to suppress the paper, Franklin observed, only brought in new customers with "an itch after the novelty of the subject that should cause such a report."[26]

The fact that Franklin employed unnecessary statements with needless and sometimes vicious wit in his paper in a time when a serious and concerned tone should have been prevailing vividly illustrates the adolescent nature that was characteristic during the initial months after the paper's conception and was an imprint on the paper throughout its life. However, Franklin's approach to this situation was a necessary one, for it showed to colonial printers the positive and negative effects of such an agenda.

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[25] *Boston News-Letter*, 12 March, 1722.
[26] *New England Courant*, 4 December, 1721; 5 February 1722.

As the epidemic subsided in the early months of 1722, so did the controversy. The battle soon degenerated into trivialities and silly name-calling. Great debate was created, for example, by Franklin's reference (on January 22) to Increase Mather as a subscriber to the *Courant*, and the subsequent denial (*Gazette*, January 29) and reaffirmation (*Courant*, February 5). Moreover, Franklin weakened his image as a crusader by the plea that he only published what others wrote.

The voluminous essays on inoculation dominated the *New England Courant* for the first ten months of its life. Once the epidemic waned in 1722, the *New England Courant* turned to other issues. However, the *Courant* differed dramatically from its competitors in that it almost never began with the news. In the all important left-hand column of page one, there usually appeared either an article from one of the London literary journals or, more frequently, a piece of prose or verse composed by Franklin or another member of his newspaper club. The main article was generally found occupying the entire left hand column. Here the authors discussed a wide range of subjects from politics to religion.

When the featured essay was not about inoculation, the *Courant* more likely dealt with local politics, the shortcomings of a Boston notable, or even the true meaning of Christmas. Starting in April 1722, when young Benjamin Franklin began his anonymous submissions to his brother, his Silence Dogood letters appeared in that left hand column.[27]

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[27] Indeed, the "Silence Dogood" of Ben Franklin's essays may have been the byproduct of the feud between the *Courant* and Mather. It seems that Cotton Mather had previously given a sermon entitled "Silentarius: The Silent Sufferer." The first line begins "If I may not only get good but also do good..." Kenneth Silverman concludes essay of Franklin may have been a terrible pun, since the sermon was about the death of Mather's child. This too would contribute to the *Courant*'s brazen nature. See again Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 339n.

Benjamin Franklin epitomized the spirit of the *Courant* writers with his essays. He had done this by successfully imitating the literary fare he read in the London journals. Though such amusing prose was commonplace in England, it had not been substantially introduced in America until the younger Franklin brought it to the *Courant*. Such essays, having European influences, were readily acceptable by all of the Couranteers. Therefore, by incorporating such writing in his brother's publication, Benjamin becomes a more significant part of the *Courant* and thus, with his forthcoming departure, permanently takes away from the paper and eventually brings its downfall. As Benjamin Franklin continued producing his essays, he borrowed heavily and patterned his work after Joseph Addison and his *Spectator*, which was published in London ten years earlier.

From April to December of 1722, the teenage apprentice published fourteen comic and often satirical letters on such subjects as Harvard University, funeral elegies and drunkenness. Signing his essays with the pen name "Silence Dogood" and placing them under the door of the printing house at night, he had the satisfaction of hearing Douglass, Checkley and his elder brother praise the pieces without knowing who wrote them.[28] As an explanation of the satirical tone of his writing, Franklin explained that he was "good humour'd," unless "first provok'd."[29]

Silence Dogood opened her correspondence in the same fashion Checkley had introduced the *Courant*.[30] She revealed herself as the widow of a country pastor. They married when she was young, but Reverend Mr. Dogood had "brought (her) up cleverly to his hand." In her widowhood she kept house for the minister who succeeded her husband, enjoying his conversation. She then concluded: "(I am) a mortal enemy to arbitrary Government & unlimited Power. I am naturally very jealous for the rights and liberties of my country."[31]

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[28] Weld, *Benjamin Franklin: His Autobiography*, 29.

[29] *New England Courant*, 16 April 1722.

[30] Ibid., 2 April 1722.

[31] Ibid.

It was not long before Silence Dogood began elaborating on certain aspects of Boston society. One letter addressed the current enthusiasm for hooped petticoats in Boston. Franklin seemed to phrase his commentary in such a way that he must have forgotten that he was a country widow: "These monstrous Topsy-turvy Mortar-pieces, are neither fit for the Church, the Hall, or the Kitchen; and if a number of them were well mounted on Noddles-Island, they would look more like Engines of War for bombarding the Town, than Ornaments for the Fair Sex."[32] Therefore, readers were able to discover more about the real author than the country widow herself.

It was the fourth letter from Silence Dogood that brought the first serious attention. In this letter, Mrs. Dogood reported a satirical dream vision of an "institution of higher learning." Awakened from her dream, Mrs. Dogood was informed "that it was a lively Representation of HARVARD COLLEGE."[33] It did not take long for a response to materialize Two weeks later (May 28), the young wits at Harvard struck back in the *Boston Gazette*. The leader of Dogood's opposition was Samuel Mather, son of Cotton Mather. The young Mather pointed out a metaphorical flaw in Franklin's satire and he did this using the name "John Harvard." Mather closed his letter exclaiming "Well done, Rustic Couranto!"[34] Mather's response probably gave Franklin more satisfaction, however, from the stir it created than from the opportunity to poke fun at the college. Creating a stir was probably the intentions of the young Franklin anyway.

Mrs. Dogood continued to expound on such topics as morals and poetry, keeping in the vein of Addison's *Spectator* and continually establishing the unique characteristics of the paper that was publishing the essays. However, in the summer of 1722, Silence Dogood found serious topics to occupy her essays.

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[32] Ibid., 11 June 1722.
[33] Ibid., 14 May 1722
[34] *Boston Gazette*, 21 May 1722.

On June 11, 1722, Franklin included a small bit of information that the "Massachusetts government was not earnestly cooperating for the capture of a pirate vessel then reported to be off the coast of New England." Franklin reported that the Boston sea captain would be sent out to capture the pirate when the wind and the tide and the captain were ready, sometime during the month.[35] Now Franklin, after attacking the Puritan clergy for months, began to blatantly attack the government.

Pirates were menaces in colonial Boston because they sailed up and down the coast capturing cargoes and ships and putting sailors to death. Therefore, it was in the best interests of all Bostonians to have the shipping lanes near Boston Harbor free and clear from this ominous group.

Franklin's insinuation that effective action was not being taken as speedily as possible was appalling to the General Court. Though he may also have been trying to solve this problem by pointing out the danger of pirates and urging action, he saw the opportunity here to insert some humor and sarcasm into his paper.

Nevertheless, Governor Shute had expended his patience and became furious at these implications in the *Courant* and immediately the General Court confined Franklin in jail, finding the offending paragraph "a High affront to this Government."[36] He had to remain there until the General Court adjourned, about two weeks later. The younger Franklin wrote in his autobiography that he "was questioned about the ordeal, but did not give them any satisfaction."[37]

While Franklin was confined, the General Court took note of the *Courant*'s insults "boldly reflecting" on the government, churches, and college and voted to place the publication under the censorship of the secretary of the province. The House, which had its own conflicts with the Council and with Governor Shute's administration, rejected the measure.[38]

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[35] Ibid., 11 June 1722.

[36] *General Court Records*, 11: 319-20, 370, quoted in Dunniway, *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, 163.

[37] Weld, *Benjamin Franklin: His Autobiography*, 30.

Benjamin Franklin was left to run the paper, "And I made bold to give our Rulers some rubs in it, which my Brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavourable light."[39] Benjamin had begun cautiously, however, by inventing a cool, urbane persona for himself as editor. The persona was "Janus," and he described himself as a "lover of truth who sought desirable knowledge and avoided extremes in conversations and behaviour."[40]

With young Benjamin taking the reins of the *New England Courant*, the publication reached the apex of its adolescence: not only was there a sixteen-year-old running the paper, but he created an imaginary person--taken after the Roman god Janus--to run the paper.
Yet, in this episode one can see a maturing Franklin. In the paper he stated that he would hear good and bad opinions about himself and value or despise them as he pleased.[41] Also, there was indeed an advantage to manipulating his appearance, considering the situation.

Benjamin made a successful attempt at running the paper. For example, to deal with the legislators and others the *Courant* had angered, Franklin reverted to his Silence Dogood pseudonym and issued a policy statement saying the *Courant* did not attempt to please everyone and would look with "pity and contempt" at those who reproached it when it promoted virtue and worthy actions.[42]

After being held a week, James Franklin humbly petitioned the General Court for the privilege of using the prison yard, pleading illness and being "heartily sorry" for his offense. His petition was granted, yet he served the full term.[43] This experience did not quell his trademark journalistic satire, for once James Franklin was released, he took his case to his readers. He published statements pointing out that he had been denied due process of law and questioned the authority of the government: he claimed he never published anything to affront the government, but he then asked if it was "a greater Crime in Some Men to discover a Fault, than for others to commit it."[44]

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[38] *General Court Records*, 11: 319-20, 370, quoted in Duniway, *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, 163.
[39] Weld, *Benjamin Franklin: His Autobiography*, 31.
[40] Ibid.
[41] *New England Courant*, 16 April 1722.
[42] Ibid., 18 June, 2 July, 1722.
[43] *General Court Records*, 11: 334 (June 20, 1772), quoted in Duniway, *Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, 99.

This was not the last time James Franklin was to tackle with the Boston legislators, for the *Courant* of January 14, 1723, carried letters advising the House on how to conduct itself in its relations with the governor. A member of the legislature, Samuel Sewall, noted that the *Courant* "comes out very impudently."[45] So this time both houses of the legislature voted to forbid Franklin to publish the *Courant* "Except it be first Supervised, by the Secretary of this Province," and he was to post bond to insure his compliance.[46] Franklin defied the order and consequently was forced to go into hiding. When he reappeared in early February, he was required to post a one year 100 pound bond, and his case was scheduled for grand jury action. Acting on the advice of his cronies, Franklin took the precaution of changing the name of the printer of his paper to Benjamin Franklin, so that he could essentially circumvent obeying the details of the legislature's order that James Franklin not print the paper without permission from the government.[47] The younger brother, who considered the change of name a "very Flimsy Scheme," was accordingly released from his apprenticeship, but was required to sign new, secret papers to keep him bonded to his brother.

Indeed, the grand jury did not indict James Franklin for violating the legislature's order, stating the "Bill...exhibited against him being returned by the Grand Jury, with Ignoramus thereupon, the said James Franklyn was Discharged by Proclamation from his said Recognizance."[48] Franklin apparently did not comment on his victory, but did insert a news item from a London paper that he thought would be "entertaining" for his readers. Appearing with a

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[44] *New England Courant*, 27 August, 1722.

[45] Samuel Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 1004.

[46] *General Court Records*, 11: 493 (January 15, 1722-23), quoted in Duniway, *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, 164.

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Records of the Superior Court of Judicature*, 1721-1725, 119 (May 7, 1723), as quoted in Duniway, *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, 166.

Boston dateline, the story gave an account of the legislative proceedings against Franklin and said that the author of the *Courant* was believed to be a member of the "diabolical Society" known as the Hell-Fire Club.[49]

Meanwhile, Benjamin Franklin, while employed at his brother's printing house, learned quickly the finer points of being a printer. At the same time, he saw his relationship with his brother deteriorate because of the changing personal situations. Benjamin made up his mind to go to another printer, but neither his father nor James would let him. Ultimately, Benjamin decided to run away from Boston, where he thought he would be likely to get into "Scrapes" like the "arbitrary Proceedings" against his brother. He sold some of his books for money and boarded a ship for New York, the nearest city with a printer. Not finding a job there, he went on to Philadelphia, where he did become successfully employed. So in the September 30, 1723, issue of the *New England Courant*, an advertisement can be found that states: "James Franklin, printer in Queen Street, want a likely lad for an apprentice."[50]

James Franklin published the *Courant* for three more years, but never reached the level that it was before--with its endless humor and sprite essays. He began printing dull essays and continued to identify Janus as the editor and Ben Franklin as the printer, while still presenting himself as an innocent, impartial printer.

Facing depressed economic conditions in Boston, James Franklin discontinued the *Courant* in 1726 and prepared to leave for Newport, Rhode Island, which was a city half the size of Boston and without any printer. However, Franklin was unable to recreate the *Courant* success there in 1733, and the paper failed after only eight months. Franklin himself did not long survive the paper. He died in Newport in February of 1735--his 38th birthday.

During its brief life, the *New England Courant* transformed the practice of Boston journalism in many ways, good and bad. It entertained what was no doubt a too stuffy Boston at that time. It also introduced controversial writing with the inoculation issue and crusade journalism with the menacing pirates, government and other general issues, but the paper often descended to inside jokes and needless humor and gossip and innuendo.

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[49] *New England Courant*, 13 May 1723.
[50] Ibid., 30 September, 1723.

Because the *Courant* was used as a vehicle to promote this type of misconduct, it failed to serve the cause of colonial press freedom in the capacity that it could have. Franklin chose to use the tools of sarcasm and needless humor to fill the pages of his paper. By doing this he probably caused negative reactions to him and his publication. Public reactions would have been negative in the sense that the *Courant* fought so ardently against a medical procedure that was actually proven only months later. The upstart little publication essentially obstructed medical progress in the summer of 1721.

Therefore, being on the wrong side medically and all the while showing little concern for those who suffered from it certainly did not help Franklin's reputation. So when he ran into trouble with the local government in 1722 and again in 1723, Franklin likely received little support from the community for he had already branded himself as a bold, irresponsible printer that was always looking to stir up something. If Franklin had been a more capable editor and addressed the issues of Boston society in a more responsible manner, perhaps he could have done more to advance press freedom in colonial Boston.

Perhaps Franklin had no intentions of being a martyr for the benefit of humanity and of history. Perhaps that was not where his interests were. If his publication provides any indication, he was reckless and carefree, at least in spirit; therefore his paper did not survive more that half a decade.

The *New England Courant*, though it lost its opportunity to make contributions to press freedom in colonial America and that it was considered a failure with its termination in 1726, was the first newspaper to defy the norm, and was at least a small representation of what was to come in the story of American journalism.

The Suffragist: The National Woman's Party Wields the Power of the Press

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The Suffragist: The National Woman's Party Wields the Power of the Press

Between 1913 and 1919, when Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment, *The Suffragist* effectively served as the major propaganda tool of the militant National Woman's Party (earlier the Congressional Union). The newspaper was unique in its editorial focus upon a federal suffrage amendment.

The *Suffragist* recorded the drama of the arrests and imprisonment of hundreds of NWP protestors who picketed the White House, burned President Woodrow Wilson's words on democracy and lighted "watch fires" of freedom with detailed and impassioned if biased reporting, righteous editorials, self-serving headlines, clever illustrations, dramatic photographs, songs, and poems, forcefully fulfilling its role as an advocate for a federal suffrage amendment.

The newspaper served the CU and NWP well on several fronts: It created unity among its diverse and far-flung membership. It sustained the morale of beleaguered NWP workers. It kept women informed about the NWP campaign and educated them about politics. It legitimized the demand for a federal suffrage amendment. It was a forum for the NWP viewpoint. It served as the nation's conscience about the disparity between democratic ideals and women's disenfranchisement.

The Suffragist performed these functions in an attractive, professional-looking package that showcased the women's formidable communication skills. The *Suffragist*'s contents were far from unbiased, but in the venerable tradition of the American dissident press, its pages helped a voteless minority claim its rights of citizenship. By doing so, the *Suffragist* served as an unsilenced champion for free speech during one of the most repressive periods in American history.

The *Suffragist* had two major failings. Both reflected the larger shortcomings of society in which the newspaper flowered. The first was that the *Suffragist* succumbed to the pervasive racism of the era. The second was its inability to harness the energy and solidarity women achieved in the suffrage movement into a force that could affect social change after the vote was won. Despite those failings, it remains a premiere example of the efficacy of advocacy journalism and how the dissident press functions as part of a social movement.

The Suffragist: The National Woman's Party Wields the Power of the Press

The woman suffrage movement was forty-five years old when the most radical suffragists launched *The Suffragist* newspaper at the end of 1913. Women had won the vote in five states over the past three years, doubling the number of suffrage states.[1] But those successes belied the stalactite pace of the state-by-state route to winning votes for women, and the *Suffragists'* founders were dedicated to obtaining a federal Constitutional amendment guaranteeing all American women that most basic civil right, the vote.

Over the next six years before Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment, the *Suffragist* recorded one of the most dramatic chapters in American history as the women it represented challenged Congress and President Woodrow Wilson to live up to the nation's egalitarian ideals.[2] The radical suffragists who supported the newspaper staged a series of colorful demonstrations that taxed the federal government's commitment to First Amendment rightsand tested the cultural boundaries of acceptable female behavior.[3] The protests culminated in the imprisonment and forced feeding of hunger-striking suffragists whose only "crime" was to stand peacefully at the White House gates bearing banners demanding votes for women.

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[1] Women won the vote in Illinois in 1913; in Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona in 1912; and in California in 1911. Women also voted in Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

[2] "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." United States Constitution, Amendment XIX.

[3] "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." United States Constitution, Amendment I.

The *Suffragist* recorded all of this drama with detailed and impassioned if biased reporting, righteous editorials, self-serving headlines, clever illustrations, dramatic photographs, and poems, forcefully fulfilling its role as an advocate for a federal suffrage amendment. The newspaper was unique in its editorial focus upon a federal suffrage amendment. It was, as it billed itself, "the only political newspaper published in the United States by and for women."[4] It differed from the only other national suffrage publication, the venerable *Woman's Journal* (renamed the *Woman Citizen* in 1917) in that it was edited and backed only by women, did not over any other women's issues, and was more radical in its outlook.[5]

The *Suffragist* further stood out for its editorial professionalism and the moral force of its insistence upon the responsibility of the nation's leaders to treat its women as citizens. The weekly tabloid served as the major propaganda tool of its publishers. It played an instrumental role not only in keeping supporters abreast of the latest developments in the quest for a federal amendment but in informing politicians and other members of the public about the suffragists' beliefs and tactics. It also gave suffrage subscribers a sense of unity and boosted their morale.

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[4] Advertisement, *Suffragist*, February 21, 1914, 7.

[5] See Lynne Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the *Woman's Journal*," *Journalism History* 3 (1977): 103-110. While the *Suffragist* staff was all female, men occasionally contributed essays. See for example Gilson Gardner, "An Open Letter to Major Pullman," *Suffragist*, August 25, 1917, 1917.

The contribution of the *Suffragist* to the movement somehow has been overlooked among the many histories of the sizable suffrage press, an omission this paper seeks to rectify.[6] The paper uses traditional historical research methods. All issues of the *Suffragist* from its beginning in 1913 through its final issue in 1921were examined. Other sources included contemporary mainstream newspaper accounts, journal articles, suffrage histories, and relevant sections of the National Woman's Party Papers, which published the *Suffragist*. The paper sought to demonstrate the role the*Suffragist* played in the NWP's campaign. The findings analyze the particular traits that enabled the *Suffragist* to function so well as a propaganda tool for the NWP.

The *Suffragist* was first envisioned as a small pamphlet by the Congressional Union (CU), which was headquartered in Washington, D.C. An affiliate of the main suffrage organization, the National

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[6] For accounts of suffrage journals, see Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869-1914," *American Journalism* 3 (1986): 125-141; Sherilyn Cox-Bennion, "The *New Northwest* and *Woman's Exponent*: Early Voices for Suffrage," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977): 286-92; Sherilyn Cox-Bennion, "*The Pioneer*: The First Voice of Women's Suffrage in the West," *Pacific Historian* 25 (1981): 15-21; Sherilyn Cox-Bennion, "The *Woman's Exponent*: Forty-two Years of Speaking for Women," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 22-39; Lynne Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the *Woman's Journal*," *Journalism History* 3 (1977): 103-110; Lynne Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-1870," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (1976): 242-51; Martha Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); and Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals," *American Journalism* 1 (1983): 1-15.

American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the CU was headed by two energetic veterans of the violent British suffragette campaign in which women stoned windows, slashed paintings, and burned empty buildings.[7] CU Chair Alice Paul and Vice Chair Lucy Burns had served seven sentences between them in London jails.[8]

The concept of the *Suffragist* had expanded into an eight-page weekly tabloid by the time the first issue appeared on November 15, 1913, with well-known journalist Rheta Childe Dorr as its editor at $100 a month. At a time when most women were ostracized from the male-dominated profession of journalism, the credentials of the former *New York Evening Post* reporter and free-lance foreign correspondent were exceptional. An early proponent of advocacy journalism, the former Socialist was the author of an influential book called *What Eight Million Women Want*. Like Paul and Burns, she also had been involved in the British suffragette movement.[9]

A page-one statement by Paul described its sole purpose as securing a federal suffrage amendment. "There is no other issue comparable in importance to the elemental question of self-government for the women of America," Paul stated.[10] An editorial by Burns hammered home the point that the CU was an action-oriented organization that would brook no delay.[11] The left-hand column of the editorial page included the text of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which remained anchored there along with a chronology of its legislative progress. Other regular features included a weekly program announcing suffrage meetings and events and "Notes of the Week," summarizing suffrage developments around the world.[12]

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[7] For accounts of the British suffragettes' struggle, see E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette: The History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement 1905-1910* (Boston: *The Woman's Journal*, 1911); Christabel Pankhurst, *Unshackled: The Story of How We Won the Vote*, reprint, (London: Cresset Women's Voices, 1987); Emmeline Pankhurst, *My Own Story* (New York: Hearst's International Library, 1914); Anita Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973); Constance Rover, *Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain, 1866-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967); and Ray Strachey, *The Cause : A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain*, (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1928).

[8] Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1920), 356, 366.

[9] Zena Beth McGlashan, "Club 'Ladies' and Working 'Girls': Rheta Childe Dorr and the New York *Evening Post*," *Journalism History* 8 (Spring 1981): 7; and Louis Filler, *Notable American Women, 1607-1950* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 503-05. See also Dorr's autobiography, *A Woman of Fifty* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1924).

Despite its publishers' contention that the *Suffragist* was "not a propaganda newspaper," the publication served as a powerful propaganda tool.[13] One Dorr innovation was to arrange CU meetings with Wilson and other officials where women posed provocative questions that elicited newsworthyquotes that not only filled the *Suffragist's* pages but gained the attention of the mainstream press.[14] Within weeks, the newspaper claimed 1,200 paid subscribers.[15]

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[10] "Forward by Alice Paul," *Suffragist*, November 15, 1913, 1.

[11] "A Federal Amendment Now," *Suffragist*, November 15, 1913, 3.

[12] For instance, the June 1, 1918, column on page 5 included brief summaries of women's rights movements in Bosnia, Hungary, Italy, Argentina, and Arkansas.

[13] "Salutatory," *Suffragist*, November 15, 1913, 4.

[14] Filler, "Rheta Childe Dorr," 504. See for example "Suffrage Delegation Interviews President Wilson," *Suffragist*, November 22, 1913, 13; "Suffrage Deputation Interests Congressmen," *Suffragist*, January 3, 1914, 6; and "President Wilson Sees Working Women," *Suffragist*, February 7, 1914, 5.

[15] "Congressional Union Report 1913," *Suffragist*, December 13, 1913, 39.

After several months of orchestrating lucid, readable accounts of a string of CU media events, however, Dorr stepped down as editor because she chafed under Paul's dictatorial style.[16] Burns, who from the first issue had written many of the editorials, took over in May of 1914.

Much of the 1914 coverage focused on the CU campaign against all Democratic Congressional candidates in the Western states where women voted. While the strategy succeeded in defeating twenty-three of forty-three Democrats, it also created a rift between the CU and NAWSA.[17] The groups parted ways, and in March of 1917 the CU merged into the National Woman's Party (NWP).

Burns stepped down at the end of 1916 to help lead the NWP picketing of the White House.[18] Vivian Pierce, her successor at the *Suffragist*, was a seasoned reporter who had covered politics for the Scripps newspapers in California. She left Scripps to manage CU press work at the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915 and later helped organize for the CU in North Dakota and Iowa.[19] Over the next two years, she and a handful of other editors oversaw coverage of one of

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[16] Linda Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party 1912-1920* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991), 62.

[17] Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910-1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 101-02.

[18] Burns would serve more jail time than any other suffrage protestor over the next year, and through a scribbled note smuggled out of solitary confinement would initiate the first organized demanded by American prisoners that they be accorded political prisoner status. Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, 177.

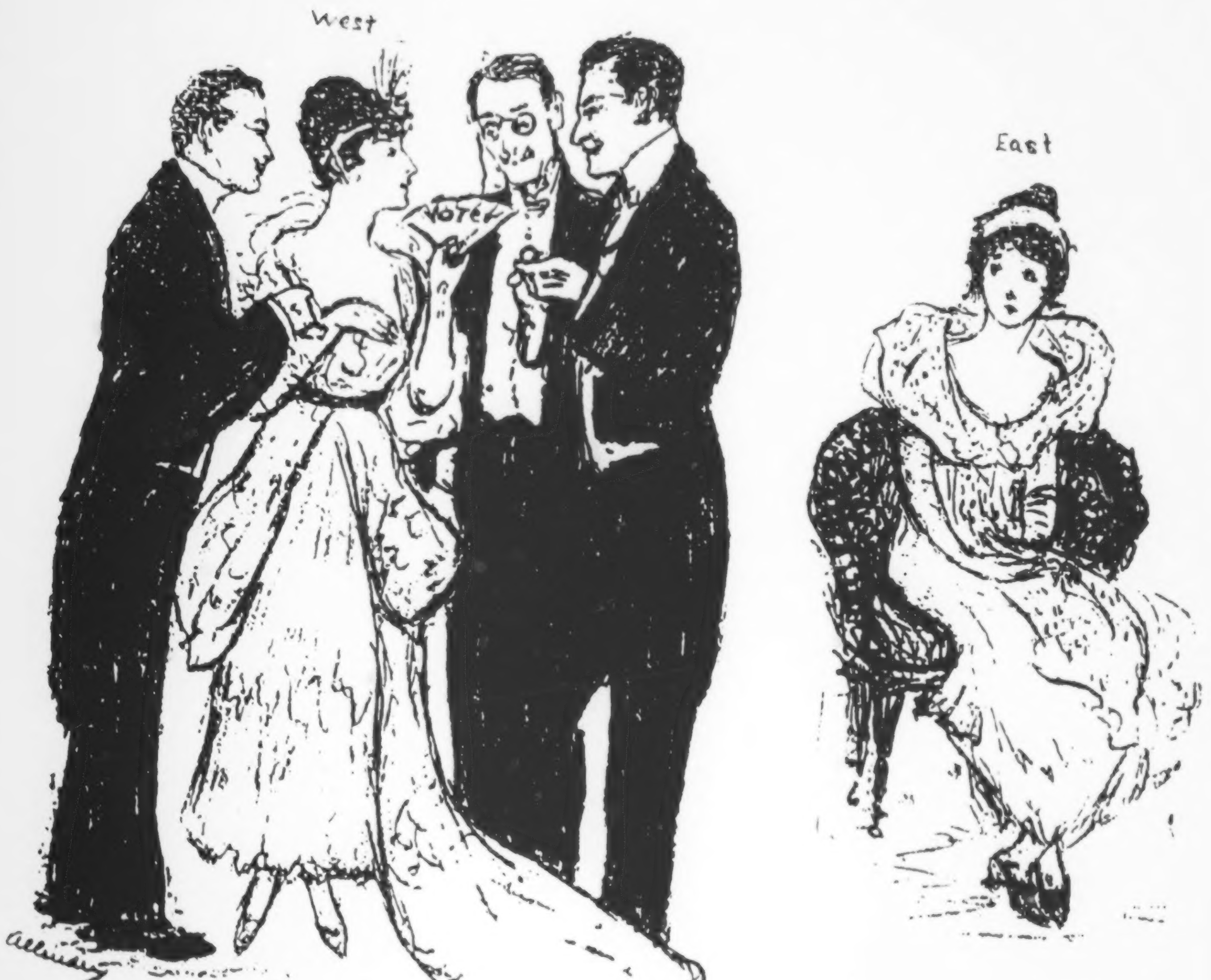
[19] Press release, Reel 89, National Woman's Party Papers: The Suffrage Years 1913-1920, Thoams Pardo, ed. (Sanford, N.C.: Microfilm Corp. of America, 1979). Hereafter cited as NWP Papers.

FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JANUARY 22, 1916


West
VOTES
East
Allender

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

The Wall-Flower

Why is the lady with the fan getting all the attention?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the most disturbing examples of suppression of First Amendment rights in American history. Between 1917 and 1918, some five hundred of one thousand women involved in peaceful suffrage protests were arrested, and one hundred sixty-eight were jailed.[20]

The picketing began January 10, 1917, when two sets of six women marched silently to the east and west gates of the White House from the CU's new headquarters at Cameron House off Pennsylvania Avenue. Two women stood on both sides of each gate bearing the party's purple, gold and white flags, bracketing a third woman who held a large banner. The banner at one gate read, "MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE? and the banner at the other read, "HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY?"[21]

While the unladylike protest drew some criticism, the pickets were tolerated until after the United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917. Crowds jeered the women's banners, which embarrassingly began quoting the president's statements on democracy. District police started to charged them in June with allegedly blocking the sidewalk. On August 14, 1917, a mob attacked the pickets and tore apart their most inflammatory banner, addressed to "Kaiser Wilson."[22]

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[20] Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, 177.

[21] "Suffragists Wait at the White House for Action," *Suffragist*, January 17, 1917, 7.

[22] It read: "KAISER WILSON: HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN YOUR SYMPATHY WITH THE POOR GERMANS BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT SELF-GOVERNING?
TWENTY MILLION AMERICAN WOMEN ARE NOT SELF-GOVERNING.
TAKE THE BEAM OUT OF YOUR OWN EYE."
"Kaiser Wilson," *Suffragist*, August 18, 1917, 6.

Over the next three months, dozens of women were sentenced for as long as seven months although they always remained peaceful in the face of the violence directed at them by mobs and the police. Paul, secretly locked into a District prison psychiatric ward near the beginning of her seven-month sentence, launched a hunger strike. Occoquan inmates followed suit, and officials began the brutal process of force feeding them through tubes rammed down their throats. A court ruled the women's incarceration at Occoquan illegal, and by the end of November District officials released all of the suffragists rather than endure the barrage of criticism stirred by their mistreatment.[23] Wilson finally came out for the amendment a year to the day after the picketing began, and the House approved the amendment by a single vote on January 11, 1918.[24] That summer, dozens more women were arrested in more flamboyant demonstrations to prod Wilson to push the Senate to approve suffrage.[25] Most served sentences only a few days long, and the NWP protests ended in the spring of 1919.

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[23] "Miss Paul on Hunger Strike," *New York Times*, November 7, 1917, 13; "Hunger Striker is Forcibly Fed," *New York Times*, November 9, 1917, 13; and "Government Forced to Release Suffrage Prisoners from Occoquan," *Suffragist*, November 30, 1917, 4-5. The nationwide press coverage the arrests received seemed split on whether it supported the women or the administration. See Loretta Zimmerman, "Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party 1912-1920," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1964, 238; Bland, "Techniques of Persuasion," 134; and Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels*, 151-52.

[24] "Susan B. Anthony Amendment Passes House," *Suffragist*, January 12, 1918, 5.

[25] See for example "Summation of Facts About the Demonstrations," *Suffragist*, August 31, 1918, 9; "President's Words Burn at Suffrage Protest in Front of White House," *Suffragist*, September 28, 1918, 6-7; and "American Women Burn President Wilson's Meaningless Words on Democracy," *Suffragist*, December 21, 1918, 6-7.

During the height of the picketing, the *Suffragist*'s tone became more militant as the suppression of the pickets' free speech intensified. A brash editorial entitled "Kaiser Wilson" castigated the president, and a news article held him personally responsible for the mob attacks upon the women.[26] Another headlined "An Arraignment of the Police" showed how the women refused to be cowed by male authority. It blasted the legal system for suppressing the pickets' First Amendment rights.[27] The December 15, 1917, cover featured an illustration of a pretty, young woman entitled, "The Militant," and an account of a particularly Occoquan incident described as a "revolution" sixteen suffrage prisoners' decision to hunger strike.[28] The newspaper likened the pickets to Susan B. Anthony's nineteenth-century militancy, and its editors proudly linked the *Suffragist* to the radical *The Revolution* published by Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.[29] The NWP had become a truly radical organization by the end of 1917. "It would be difficult for women jailed by their society for exercising their rights of free speech to ever look upon that society in the same way again," historian Linda Ford explained.[30] The maltreatment of revered leader Alice Paul only ignited further rebellion instead of capitulation. "Physical discomfort, jail, humiliation, mob violence, terror, and torture cannot break spirits with a vision of freedom or silence a demand for justice," the *Suffragist* said in an editorial.[31]

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[26] *Suffragist*, August 18, 1917, 6; and "President Onlooker at Mob Attack," *Suffragist*, August 18, 1917, 7.

[27] *Suffragist*, June 30, 1917, 5.

[28] *Suffragist*, December 15, 1917, 1; and "A Week of the Women's Revolution," *Suffragist*, November 23, 1917, 4.

[29] "History Repeats Itself; Susan B. Anthony Militancy," *Suffragist*, February 15, 1919, 13. See also Masel-Walters, "A History of *The Revolution*."

[30] Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels*, 188-89.

The newspaper and the NWP exhibited tremendous courage in attacking the administration in 1917, labelled by free-speech historian Margaret Blanchard as the most repressive wartime experience in American history. More than one thousand dissidents were convicted under the federal espionage and sedition acts, many sentenced to ten to twenty years in prison. The postmaster shut down more than fifteen publications it labelled seditious because they criticized the war effort, including the liberal *Nation*.[32] Although the suffrage pickets never were charged under the draconian sedition acts, suffrage historian Eleanor Flexner observed their arrests for minor offenses marked them "among the earliest victims of the abrogation of civil liberties in wartime."[33]

The *Suffragist* played a key role in the vindication of the NWP's rights of assembly, to petition, and of free speech through its vigorous, intelligent protests. The *Suffragist* thus became a beacon for free speech rights for all citizens during this repressive era. Individuals and publications had been charged under the sedition acts for messages less provocative than those carried by the banner bearers and reprinted in the *Suffragist* alongside its harsh criticism of governmental repression and requests for women to do war work. But the *Suffragist* never was banned as seditious. The newspaper probably was insulated partly by the women's elite status and a sense of male chivalry, but most likely the NWP's reformist goal of votes for women was viewed by the administration as less threatening than the Socialist and anarchist publications it usually targeted.

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[31] "Free Will," *Suffragist*, November 30, 1917, 8.

[32] Margaret Blanchard, *Revolutionary Sparks: Freedom of Expression in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 49, 76, 94.

[33] Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 284-85. See also Haig Bosmajian, "The Abrogation of the Suffragists' First Amendment Rights," *Western Speech* 38 (1974): 218-32.

Rather than surrender to governmental intimidation, Paul proved a savvy publicist who knew the NWP would reap generous publicity if the pickets were perceived as victims. The *Suffragist* emphasized the David-versus-Goliath aspects of the affair, noting, for instance, that the officers who arrested Katharine Morey were four times her size.[34] The newspaper favored diminutives when describing its campaign; the NWP's was a "little protest," and the pickets were "little" women.[35] One article referred five times to the "young" pickets, who like Oxford-educated Paul were among the nation's first generation of college women.[36] Picket organizer Mabel Vernon decades later shrewdly analyzed the picketing strategy as "pursuing peaceful means to achieve a violent reaction."[37]

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[34] "Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts," *Suffragist*, July 7, 1917, 5.

[35] "The Fight Must Go On," *Suffragist*, July 7, 1917, 4.

[36] "The Seventh Week of the Suffrage Picket," *Suffragist*, March 3, 1917, 5.

[37] Sidney Bland, "Techniques of Persuasion: The National Woman's Party and Woman Suffrage, 1913-1919," Ph.D. diss., The George Washington University, 113-14.

The hunger strikers proved perfect propaganda fodder. "I am afraid this letter is not well written," concluded an articulate, smuggled note from Mary Winsor printed by the *Suffragist*, "as I am rather light headed from hunger."[38] Per its imprisoned leader's orders, the *Suffragist* missed no opportunity to highlight the women's martyrdom. Paul wrote to an executive committee member from prison that force feeding her and other harsh acts provided "excellent ammunition" against the administration. "The more harsh we can make the Administration seem . . . the better," she wrote on the flyleaf torn from her copy of the *Oxford Book of English Verse*. "It all depends on the publicity of course." She instructed her associate to make the most of her ordeal and others in the press and the *Suffragist*.[39]

The NWP aggressively used its premier forum in the *Suffragist* , now doubled in size to sixteen pages, to advance its side of the controversy. If the paper did not live up to its publishers' founding statement that is was not intended as propaganda, it succeeded it portraying as heroes the imprisoned pickets in stories with slanted headlines such as "The United States Convicts Eleven More Women for Demanding Democracy" and columns like "Why Arresting Pickets Is Stupid."[40] A story about an NWP speaking tour was headed, "The Country Learns of the Administration's Failure."[41]

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[38] "Notes from the Prisoners," *Suffragist*, August 24, 1918, 8.

[39] Alice Paul to Dora Lewis, November 1913 (?), Reel 53, NWP Papers.

[40] *Suffragist*, July 14, 1917, 4; and *Suffragist*, July 7, 1917, 7.

[41] *Suffragist*, October 6, 1917, 4.

News articles brimmed with quotes reiterating the women's unrefutable argument that the United States was hypocritical to fight for democracy abroad when it denied its female citizens the vote. "I was kicked and knocked down," read one protester's statement, "by those soldiers and sailors who are to go abroad to fight for democracy."[42] Court stories also allowed the newspaper to repeat the blasts at the government articulated by the suffrage defendants. The newspaper's own choice of language was anything but neutral in its news accounts. The unlawful assembly charges, for instance, were explained as being used to "throttle free expression for more than a century."[43]

Melodramatic accounts of jail also strived to gain sympathy for the women. First-person prison accounts emphasized both the inmates' pluck and the poor conditions at Occoquan workhouse. "We tried to make sport of the worm hunt," Katherine Rolston Fisher wrote of the prison fare, "each table announcing its score of weevils and worms."[44] An account by Doris Stevens hinted at the privileged position of the pickets outside prison walls when she complained of the "coarse unsightly prison clothes designed to crush the self-respect."[45] The newspaper also reprinted suffrage prison songs and

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[42] "Prisoners of Freedom Released," *Suffragist*, September 15, 1917, 4.

[43] "An Arraignment of the Police," *Suffragist*, June 30, 1917, 5.

[44] "From the Log of a Suffrage Picket," *Suffragist*, October 13,1917, 9.

[45] "Justice," *Suffragist*, August 11, 1917, 9.

Vida Milholland in Prison

Alive, Oh!

By Beulah Amidon

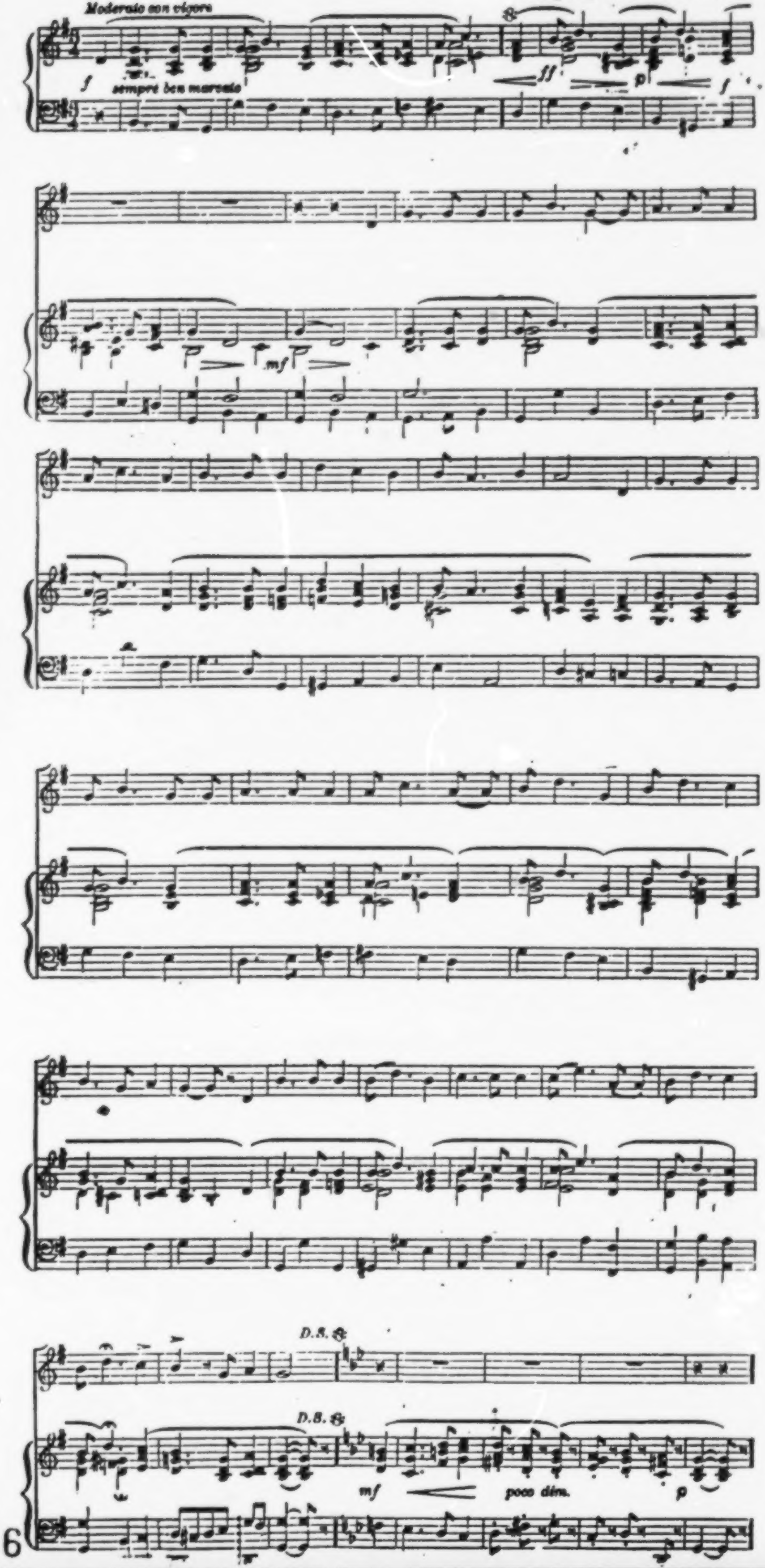
Their eyes to the eastward,
Their hearts high with vision
The women have toiled through the dusk of delay;
The brave banners blowing,
Undaunted and singing,
For justice, for freedom, Alive, Alive, Oh!
Alive, Alive, Oh!
Alive, Alive, Oh!
For justice, for freedom, Alive, Alive, Oh!

Awake to the dawning!
We conquer! We conquer!
The sky is ablaze with the fire of our day;
The morning has risen—
In triumph we hail it—
For justice, for freedom, Alive, Alive, Oh!

CHORUS

ALIVE, OH!

Old Irish Air
Arranged by N. Clifford Page


Moderato con vigore
f
sempre ben marcato
ff
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f
mf
D.S.
D.S.
mf
poco dim.
p

poems that extended a sense of camaraderie between inmates and readers.[46]

The *Suffragist*'s heavy-handed reporting was offset by the wry, stylish cover illustrations by Nina Allender. The artist was a past president of the District of Columbia suffrage associations who had rendered suffrage cartoons for the District and during the Ohio campaign. The *Suffragist's* description of her also fit its ideal of the "new woman" to whom the no-nonsense organization appealed: "a young, a very young, person--cool, efficient, unsentimental; with a feminine fondness for pretty clothes, and a fine new logical ruthlessness."[47] Despite that latter term, Allender's work is better characterized as bemused rather than belligerent. In contrast to the buxom, hatchet-faced battle axes depicted in anti-suffrage cartoons, Allender's subjects were pretty, slender, and well dressed.

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[46] See "Alive, Oh" *Suffragist*, February 18, 1918, 6; and "Nearly Home!" *Suffragist*, 28, 1918, 6. One song to the tune of "I've Been Working on the Railroad" included this verse: "We've been starving in the workhouse/All the livelong day/We've been starving in the workhouse/Just to pass the S.B.A." "A New Prison Song" *Suffragist*, August 31, 1918, 9.

"This Is Jail" was among several poems Katherine Fisher contributed:

> Painfully raising my head,
> I look down the long row
> Of gray-blanketed women.
> Under every heap a woman,
> Weak, sick, but determined,
> Twenty gray fortresses of determination.
> *Suffragist*, September 14, 1918, 5.

[47] "Cartooning for the *Suffragist*," *Suffragist*, July 29, 1916, 4. Allender was not the first woman cartoonist. That honor belonged to Lou Roger, according to the *Woman's Journal*, who used the camel to symbolize women's endurance and ability to bear burdens in occasional sketches for the *Journal*. "Lou Roger--Cartoonist," *Woman's Journal*, August 2, 1913, 243.

Early cartoons played off traditional gender roles. One typical Allender cartoon showed a man shocked by a woman wearing a beautiful dress labelled "National Constitutional Amendment." "She used to be satisfied with so little," the caption read.[48] In "The Wallflower," a woman labelled "East" sitting alone at a dance looked enviously at the men surrounding another woman labelled "West"-- who fluttered a fan labelled "Voter."[49] After the picketing began, Allender stressed the discrepancy between the suppression of the voteless women pickets and Democratic ideals. "Celebrating Independence Day in the National Capital" showed police and a mob threatening a banner-wielding woman.[50] "Headquarters for the Next Six Months" depicted a smiling, endless stream of pickets waiting to enter jail.[51] NWP historian Inez Haynes Irwin said Allender infused her work "with a woman's vivacity and a woman's sense of humor; a humor which plays keenly and gracefully about masculine insensibility; a humor as realistic, but as archly un-bitter as that of Jane Austen. It would be impossible for any man to have done Mrs. Allender's work."[52]

In addition to illustrations, the *Suffragist* effectively used photographs to make its case. Large, dramatic photos of police and hecklers harassing respectable-looking pickets vividly emphasized

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[48] *Suffragist*, March 13, 1915, 1.

[49] *Suffragist*, January 22, 1916.

[50] *Suffragist*, July 14, 1917, 1.

[51] *Suffragist*, October 27, 1917.

[52] Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party*, 47.

FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1917

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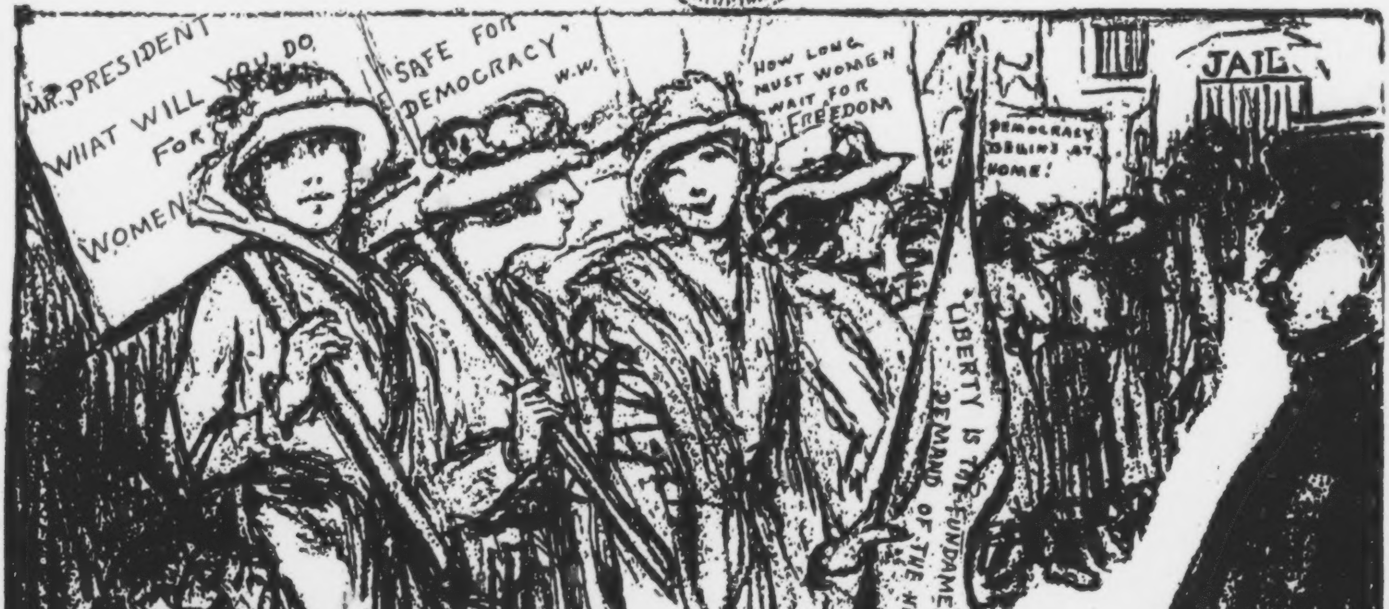
MR. PRESIDENT WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMEN
"SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY" W.W.
HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR FREEDOM
DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME!
JAIL
LIBERTY IS THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMAND OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT W.W.
Allender

Drawn by Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Headquarters for the Next Six Months

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the lopsided confrontation between peaceful, middle-class women and federal authorities.[53] A later photograph showed a released prisoner begin returned to NWP headquarters on a stretcher.[54]

Another effective feature was "Comments of the Press," which reprinted favorable press commentary from around the nation. It must have been heartening for NWP members waging an often lonely battle in the face of imprisonment and ridicule to read of support from influential newspapers such as the New York *Evening Mail* and *The Boston Journal*.[55] By reprinting favorable comments of the national press, the *Suffragist* helped legitimize the NWP's attack on the Wilson administration. Other articles kept readers abreast of work toward the federal amendment in the states.[56] All of this news undoubtedly helped sustain the morale of NWP workers.

Boosting morale and forging a sense of solidarity among readers were among the *Suffragist*"s most important functions. Journalism historian Linda Steiner has analyzed how nineteenth-century suffrage publications identified, legitimized, and sustained a community of "new women" who challenged restrictive gender roles. "[S]uffrage papers persuasively illustrated alternative versions of a satisfying life style for women," she wrote, "and brought suffragists into a new and exhilarating world in which their lives had special purpose and meaning."[57] The *Suffragist* offered readers that same sense of freedom and sorority. It also created a sense of unity among the NWP's diverse membership, which ranged from Socialists to labor activists to Ivy League women to society matrons. "I glory in *The Suffragist* as an expression of a courageous, forward-looking group of women with conviction, endurance and humor," one reader wrote.[58]

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[53] See for example *Suffragist*, July 7, 1917, 7; and *Suffragist*, August 10, 1918, 9.

[54] *Suffragist*, February 1, 1919, 5.

[55] "An Appeal to Conscience," *Suffragist*, 10; and "Democracy Half-way," *Suffragist*, 10.

[56] See for example, "Pennsylvania Artists Alliance Demands Federal Suffrage," *Suffragist*, May 7, 1918, 5; and "Rhode Island Instructs Its Senators on Suffrage," *Suffragist*, May 7, 1918, 10.

The newspaper did not, however, extend its sorority to African-American women. The contents of the *Suffragist* illustrate journalism historian Catherine Mitchell's point that the privilege and exclusion that infected the suffrage movement also figured in the suffrage press.[59] Black faces never appeared in *Suffragist* photographs, and its columns contained neither news of numerous black suffrage clubs nor commentary on the double burden borne by African-American women seeking equality.[60] Several articles argued woman suffrage would uphold white supremacy in the South.[61] The pervasive racism of the era was captured in a cover illustration of Occoquan inmates captioned, "Refined, Intelligent Society Women Act as Pickets And

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[57] Steiner, "Finding Community," 2, 12.

[58] "Successful Suffragist Library Drive Closing," *Suffragist*, April 30, 1918, 12.

[59] Catherine Mitchell, "Historiography: A New Direction for Research in the Woman's Rights Press," *Journalism History* 19 (1993): 62

[60] At least thirty African-American suffrage groups or women's clubs that focused on gaining the vote existed in the 1910s. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Afro-Americans in the Struggle for Woman Suffrage," Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 1977, 313.

[61] "National Suffrage and the Race Problem," *Suffragist*, November 14, 1914, **xx**; and Helena Hill Weed, "The Federal Amendment and the Race Problem," *Suffragist*, February 6, 1915, 4;

SEP 15 1917 PERIODICAL DIVISION

The Suffragist

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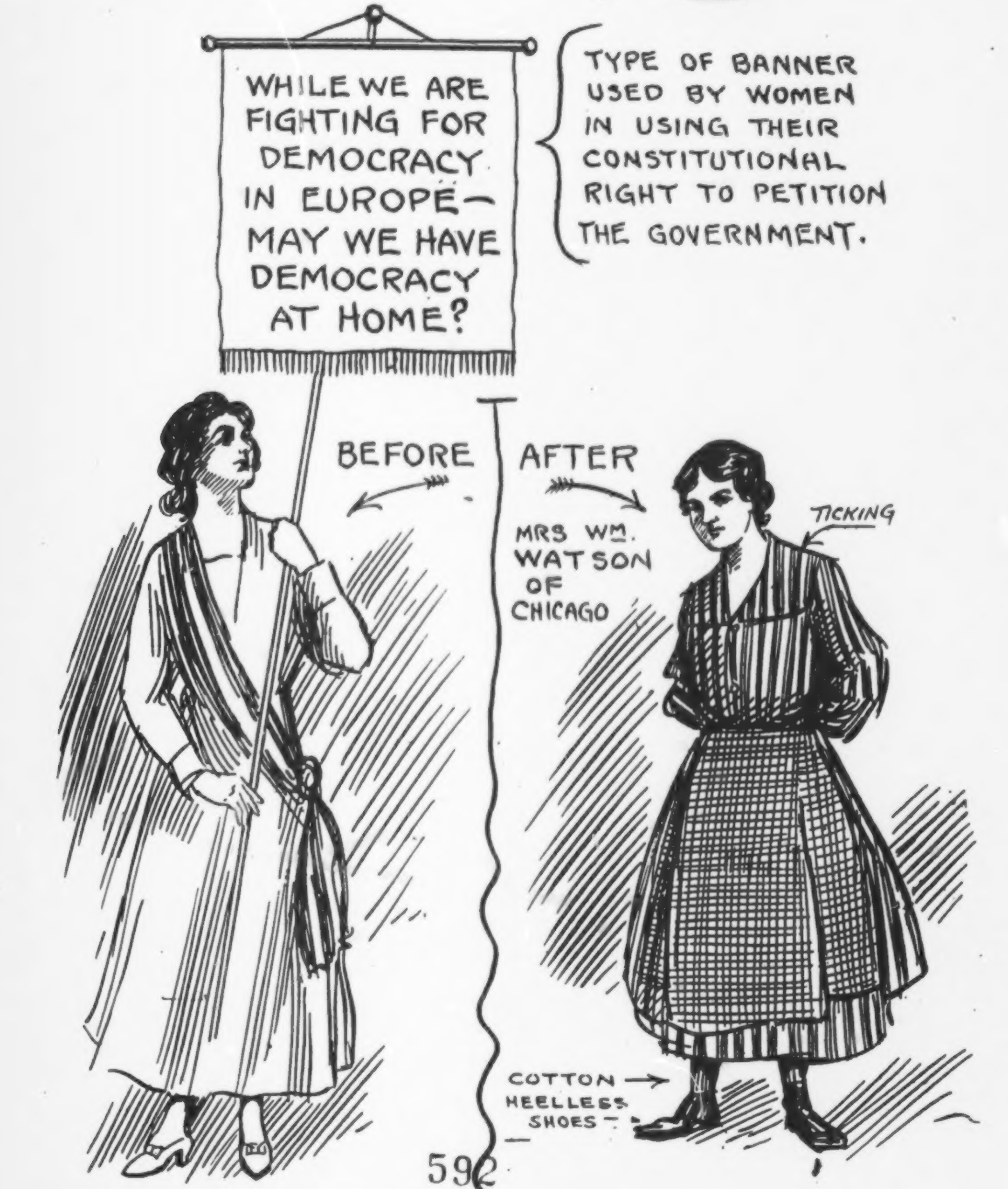
WHILE WE ARE FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE— MAY WE HAVE DEMOCRACY AT HOME?
TYPE OF BANNER USED BY WOMEN IN USING THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO PETITION THE GOVERNMENT.
BEFORE
AFTER
MRS WM. WATSON OF CHICAGO
TICKING
COTTON
HEELLESS SHOES

REFINED, INTELLIGENT, SOCIETY WOMEN ACT AS PICKETS AND— ARE THROWN INTO THE WORKHOUSE WITH NEGROES AND CRIMINALS

Drawn by Representative John M. Baer. Courtesy Newspaper Enterprise Association

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Are--Thrown Into the Workhouse with Negroes and Criminals."[62] The NWP was not totally immune, however, to thecivil rights struggles of minority women, at least in the abstract. A 1917 editorial praised the embryonic civil rights movement of a "great class seeking fair play" after the East St. Louis race riots, for instance, and an 1918 article called for enfranchising Native Americans.[63] The newspaper supported labor and published a number of articles on working women and the vote.[64]

Although by the 1910s the mainstream press generally covered suffrage generously and sympathetically, the CU nonetheless needed its own emphatic voice.[65] When, for example, the mainstream press chided CU deputations to Wilson as bothersome, the *Suffragist* countered in forceful editorials that as disenfranchised citizens women had no recourse but to petition the nation's chief executive for redress.[66] Editorials also explained why the NWP made the controversial decision to picket Wilson during wartime.[67]

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[62] *The Suffragist*, September 15, 1917, 1. See also "Justice," *Suffragist*, August 11, 1917, 9; and ""The Prison Note of Rose Winslow," *Suffragist*, December 1, 1917, 6.

[63] "Negro Unrest", *Suffragist*, August 25, 1917, 3; and Gertrude Bonnin, "The Indian Woman," *Suffragist*, June 29, 1918, 7.

[64] See for example "Because They Can't Fight," *Suffragist*, May 30, 1914, 3; "The Working Class and the Federal Amendment," *Suffragist*, July 25, 1914, 6; and "Voteless Women and the Labor Problem," *Suffragist*, May 22, 1915, 6.

[65] See for example, "Women and the Press in 1911," *Woman Voter*, December 1911, 28; "View of the Press Has Changed," *Woman's Journal*, November 30, 1912, 382; "New York Press Values Suffrage," *Woman's Journal*, March 6, 1915, 78.

[66] "Heckling the President" *Suffragist*, June 11, 1914, 2; and "Heckling the President," *Suffragist*, May 22, 1915, 4.

[67] "Why We Keep on Picketing," *Suffragist*, September 1, 1917, 6. Among the publications against which the Suffragist had to defend itself was NAWSA's

Another function of the *Suffragist* was to educate readers about the political process. "The Question Column" explained nuts-and-bolts areas like how Congressional districts worked.[68] "The Suffrage Bookshelf" offered books by leading feminist authors such as Dorr, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and British suffragette leader Emmeline Pankhurst.[69] Whenever questions on the amendment came up in Congress, the *Suffragist* listed how the representatives voted on the question.[70] Because the newspaper expected its subscribers to be activists, it offered advice on how to protest Congressional inaction. One article suggested that groups send resolutions, letters, petitions, telegrams or lobby for their local press to write supportive

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Woman Citizen, which believed the picketing hurt the cause. Besides a couple of critical editorials, it ran no news of the NWP protests and by its silence tacitly condoned the infringement upon the pickets' rights of free speech and assembly. "The Pickets and the Public," *Woman Citizen*, June 30, 1917, 79; and "Pickets Are Behind the Times," *Woman Citizen*, November 17, 1917, 470. In contrast to the NWP, NAWSA worked hard to curry Wilson's favor and organized women's war work, and its efforts certainly were instrumental in gaining votes for women. "Constructive Patriotism," *Woman Voter*, March 1917, 7. Although scholars disagree on whether the NWP tactics helped or hindered suffrage, the chronology of events indicates its protests helped push Wilson and Congress to act. See Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 284-87; William O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave:The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 203-04; Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels*; and Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*.

[68] "The Question Column," *Suffragist*, March 18, 1916, 10.

[69] "The Suffrage Bookshelf," *Suffragist*, March 11, 1916, 12.

[70] See for example "The Democratic Caucus and the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Suffragist*, February 14, 1914, 5.

editorials.[71] Other issues provided forms and addresses of readers to protest to their representatives, Senate leaders, and Wilson.[72]

Accounts of Congressional proceedings could be tart. When a Senate filibuster prevented a suffrage vote in 1918, for instance, the *Suffragist* printed a sarcastic column on the proceedings headlined, "Alice in Blunderland."[73] The *Suffragist* was unafraid to use strong language, as in an editorial charging that authorities had plotted to "terrorize" the pickets.[74] The newspaper held Wilson fully accountable for Congress' delay in approving the amendment. One editorial blamed him for a Senate filibuster.[75] Another, one of the few penned by Paul, castigated Wilson for a Senate vote defeating the amendment.[76]

Perhaps the most important contribution the *Suffragist* made to the movement was that it helped make votes for women a national issue. The coverage it provided of the events staged by the CU and NWP gave the federal approach legitimacy. The newspaper also played a key role in defeating a diluted version of the Anthony Amendment that would have allowed states to decide whether to hold suffrage referenda, an option that could have derailed woman suffrage for decades.[77]

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[71] "Help Win Suffrage This Session," *Suffragist*, December 29 1917, 6.

[72] "The Vote in the House of Representatives Telegraph Your Representative!" *Suffragist*, January 2, 1915, 6.

[73] Inez Haynes Irwin, "Alice in Blunderland," *Suffragist*, July 27, 1918, 7.

[74] "Opposition, Direct and Indirect," *Suffragist*, July 13, 1918, 4.

[75] "The Senate Filibuster," *Suffragist*, June 29, 1918, 8.

[76] "The Defeat in the Senate," *Suffragist*, October 12, 1918, 4.

The *Suffragist* was superior to its predecessors in production values and editorial professionalism for several reasons: improvements in technology, the professionalism of full-time, paid editors like Dorr and Pierce, and an adequate budget thanks to impressive fund raising by the CU and NWP.[78] It retained its moral power through its staff's activism--even advertising manager Betty Gram had served time for picketing.[79] The newspaper also benefitted from the women's sophistication in the fledgling field of public relations techniques. The *Suffragist* was just one section of the press department headed by Jessie Hardy Stubbs. It spewed a constant supply of news bulletins, feature articles, and photographs to hundreds of newspapers, Washington correspondents, wire services, and the Congressional galleries.[80] Stubbs also made sure most of the nation's editors, every member of Congress, and to the White House received copies of the *Suffragist* .[81]

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[77] See for example "The States' Rights Shibboleth," *Suffragist*, March 7, 1914, 7; and "Which is the Practical Amendment?" *Suffragist*, April 24, 1915, 4.

[78] The organizations raised three-quarters of a million dollars between 1913 and 1918. Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party*, 4.

[79] Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, **360**.

[80] "The Woman's Party and the Press," *Suffragist*, September 13, 1919, 7.

[81] "Congressional Union Press Bureau," *Suffragist*, June 20, 1914, 3. Both the NWP and NAWSA, which in 1917 alone distributed fifty million pieces of literature through its sophisticated Press Bureau, emulated the press operations of the Democratic and Republican parties' educational campaigns. Michael McGerr, "Popular Style and Women's Power, 1830-1930," *Journal of American History* 77 (December 1990): 872.

Although the newspaper sold advertisements and subscriptions (for one dollar a year), revenues never sufficed to keep the newspaper in the black. Ads pitched sponsors such as grocery stores, florists, clothing, milliners, stationers, khaki, corsets, moving vans, wallpaper, and "Phantom Powder" to improve complexions.[82] An appeal by its advertising department underscored the elite status enjoyed by most CU/NWP members. "The potential buying power of our circulation is there," it said. "Think over, Mr. Advertiser, the class of people who are suffragists in your acquaintance."[83]

The newspaper used its human resources to help make ends meet. Volunteers sold the paper on the street, considered a fairly daring female venture in the 1910s, and students at a CU-sponsored suffrage school were required to sell copies before they could move on to more challenging suffrage campaign techniques like soapbox speaking.[84] "Selling the paper was a significant ritual of initiation for new members," sociologist Marjory Nelson observed.[85] The circulation department conducted subscription contests and conducted ibrary subscription drives.[86] Subscription spiels also emphasized activism; one appeal said the *Suffragist* was the only

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[82] *Suffragist*, April 6, 1918, 15.

[83] "A Statement from the Publisher," *Suffragist*, November 15, 1913, 5.

[84] "Paper Sellers," *Suffragist*, December 6, 1913, 32; and "Learning How to Be a Successful Suffragist," *Suffragist*, December 13, 1913, 45.

[85] Marjory Nelson, "Ladies in the Street: A Sociological Analysis of the National Woman's Party, 1910-1930," Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1976, xx.

[86] Advertisement, *Suffragist*, July 22, 1916, 12; and "Successful Suffragist Library Drive Closing," *Suffragist*, April 30, 1918, 12.

FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

AUGUST 15, 1914

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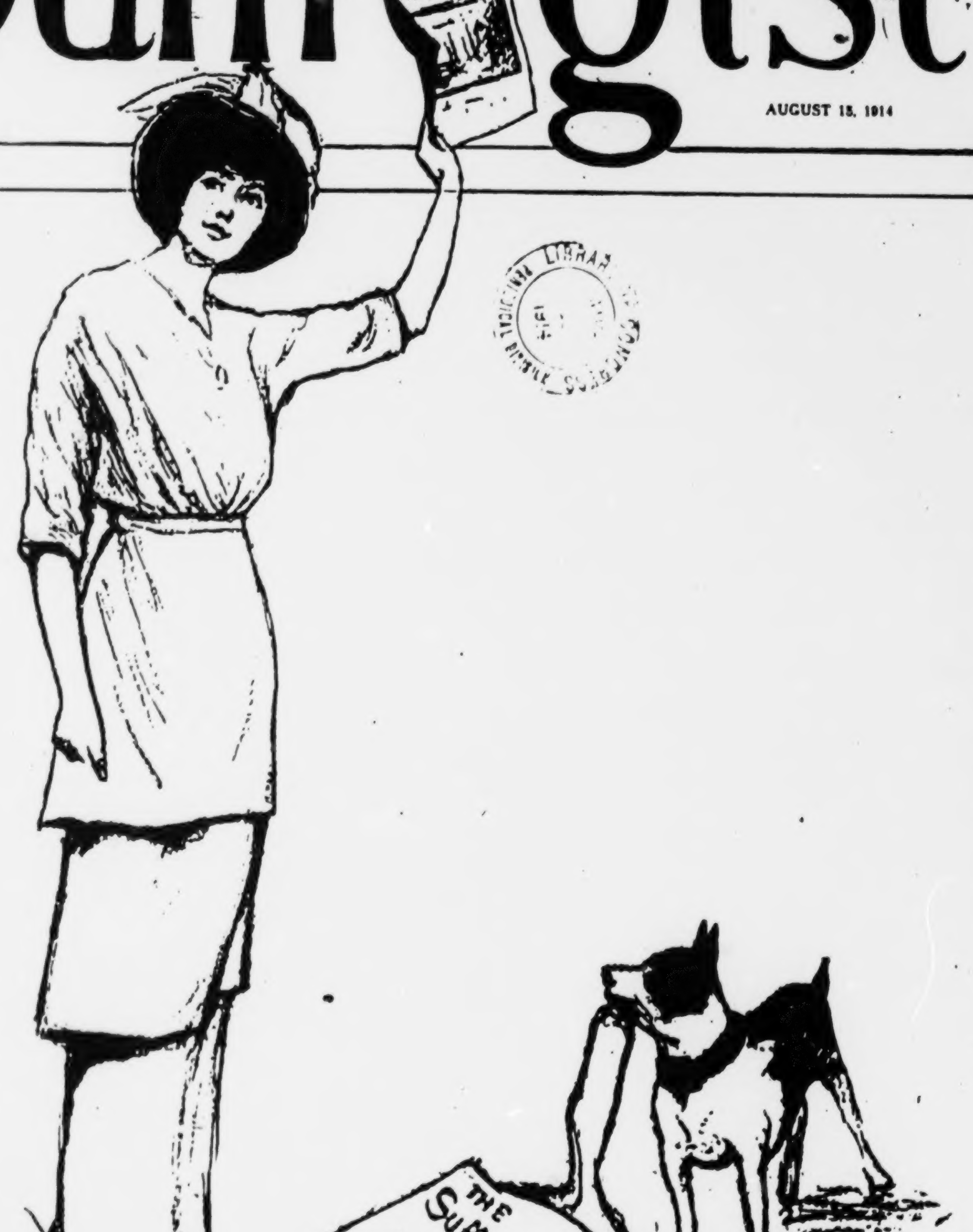
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newspaper telling the prisoners' side of the story. "Help this fight for freedom now, yourself," by subscribing, it ended.[87] These efforts helped boost circulation to 17,000 by September of 1917 (even though some subscribers cancelled to protest the picketing), up from 4,450 at the beginning of the year.[88]

After the Senate approved the suffrage amendment on June 4, 1919, and the struggle shifted to the states, the *Suffragist* suffered an identity crisis not unlike its publishers' confusion about what their new role should be. Its style changed almost overnight, partly as a result of the arrival of new editor Sue Sheldon White of Tennessee, whose credentials included that she burned a cartoon "effigy" of Wilson.[89] Whereas it previously stressed the independent "new woman," the July 26 cover marked a departure to more traditional arguments for votes for women. It depicted children to point out the "The Health of Children is in the Hands of the Nation." Inside, articles indicated how the *Suffragist* was running out of material. A new book page, for instance, reviewed a biography of Florence Nightingale.[90]

After the paper suspended publication in October 1919, it was barely recognizable when it reappeared as a monthly in February of 1920 under the editorship of Florence Brewer Boeckel, formerly the national press chair. A series entitled "What Next?" summed up the NWP's lack of direction.[91] The most glaring example of the domestication of the formerly militant organ was an article that wondered, "Combining a Baby and a Job--Can It Be Done?"[92] The article mirrored women's priorities during the post-suffrage decade, when feminism moved from the collective struggle for suffrage to individual struggles for careers. At the same time, powerful forces were at work to drive women back into the home.[93] *Nation* associate editor Freda Kirchwey wrote in the *Suffragist* of the need for a new women's magazine to address the needs of professional women who also valued their families.[94] The *Suffragist* audience scattered to pursue diffuse new interests. Clearly, women no longer needed a newspaper about winning the vote. After the states ratified the Nineteenth Amendment August 26, 1920; even the *Suffragist*'s title had become an anachronism. Finally, a feature in the January-February 1921 issue indicated it was time to stop the *Suffragist* presses: "Fashion and Feminism."[95] On that faltering note, the *Suffragist* ceased publication.[96]

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[87] "Suffragists, Attention!" *Suffragist*, October 27, 1917, 12.

[88] "Suffragist Circulation Report," September 21, 1917, Reel 47, NWP Papers: and "5,000 New Subscribers," *Suffragist*, January 26,1917, 12.

[89] "The Demonstration of February 9," *Suffragist*, February 22, 1919, 10-12.

[90] *Suffragist*, August 30, 1919, 10.

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[91] *Suffragist*, October 20, 1920, 235.

[92] *Suffragist*, November 1920, xx.

[93] For an insightful analysis of how feminism changed in the 1920s, see Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press, 1987).

[94] "A Woman's Magazine and Why," *Suffragist*, January-February 1921, 356.

[95] *Suffragist*, January-February 1921, 354.

[96] The NWP began to campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment in 1923 and began publishing *Equal Rights* magazine in the mid-1930s. NAWSA became the League of Women Voters. Its *Woman Citizen*, which reverted to coverage of

Its humble ending did not diminish the accomplishments of the *Suffragist* over the past eight years. The newspaper served the CU and NWP well on several fronts: It created unity among its diverse and far-flung membership. It sustained the morale of beleaguered NWP workers. It kept women informed about the NWP campaign and educated women about politics. It legitimized the demand for a federal suffrage amendment. It served as a forum for the NWP viewpoint. It served as the nation's conscience about the disparity between democratic ideals and women's disenfranchisement.

The *Suffragist* performed these functions in an attractive, professional-looking package that showcased the women's formidable communication skills. The *Suffragist*'s contents were far from unbiased, but in the venerable tradition of the American dissident press, its pages helped a voteless minority claim its rights of citizenship. In the process, the *Suffragist* served as an unsilenced voice for free speech during one of the most repressive periods in American history.

The *Suffragist* had two major failings. Both reflected the larger shortcomings of society in which the newspaper flowered. The first was that the *Suffragist* entertained racism. The second was its inability to harness the energy and solidarity women achieved in the suffrage movement into a force that could affect social change after the vote was won. Despite those failings, it remains a premiere example of the efficacy of advocacy journalism and the role the

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Women's clubs and domestic affairs, continued to publish until 1932. Masel-Walters, *To Hustle with the Rowdies*, 181; and Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day," 110.

dissident press can play in a social movement. The *Woman's Journal* had proven prescient when it welcomed its rival in 1913: "The newest star in the galaxy of equal rights journals is *The Suffragist*, and it promises to be a bright one."[97]

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[97] "The Suffragist," *Woman's Journal*, November 22, 1913, 373.

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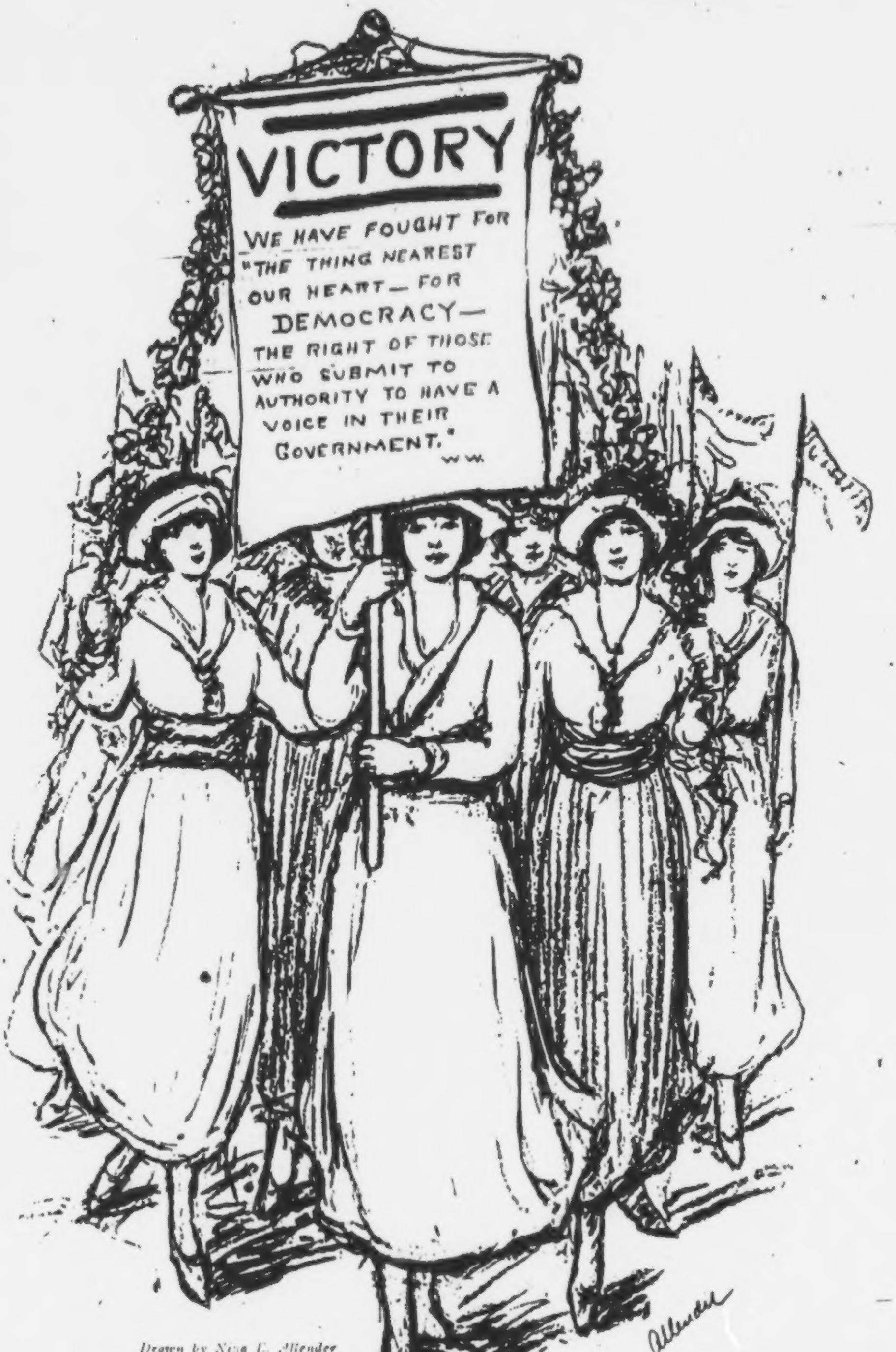

VICTORY
WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR "THE THING NEAREST OUR HEART — FOR DEMOCRACY — THE RIGHT OF THOSE WHO SUBMIT TO AUTHORITY TO HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT." W.W.
Allender

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

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Banners Victorious